

with any such supposition. It is a safe inference from 1 S 6th, 2 S 6th, that the recognized method of carrying the Ark in early times was in a sacred cart (i.e. a cart that had been used for no other purpose) drawn by cows or bulls.* The use of horned cattle might possibly denote that the Ark was in some way connected with lunar worship; in any case, however, they probably imply that the god contained in the Ark was regarded as the god of fertility (see Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 48, 80).† At first sight it is difficult to suppose that a serpent could ever be regarded as a god of fertility, but whatever the origin of serpent-worship may be—and we need not assume that it has been everywhere identical—there can be little doubt that in some cases, at all events, it is celebrated with a view of ensuring fertility thereby. On this point the statement of the scholiast on the *Hetaireis* of Lucian, quoted by J. E. Harrison (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 121, 122), is very suggestive: ἀναφέρονται δὲ κἀνταῦθα ἀρρηγὰ ἑρὰ ἐκ στέρας τοῦ σίτου κατεσκευασμένα, μνήματα δράκοντος καὶ ἀνδρῶν σχημάτων.

But whether the view here advocated that the Ark of Israel originally contained the brazen serpent be correct or not, it is at any rate certain that the Ark was the shrine or repository of some object which symbolized Jahweh to His worshippers. On this point the evidence which we possess concerning similar arks among other peoples is conclusive (cf. Schwally, *Semit. Kriegsaltertümern*, p. 10). And as the sacred object was certainly not in every case a live serpent, we naturally inquire why it should be placed in a box, and not rather set on a pedestal or throne in a temple. The answer to this question is to be found in the conception of the god which prevails among primitive peoples, in whose minds the fetish or image is so identified with the spirit which is supposed to animate it that the two are

indistinguishable. In times of need or danger man requires a god that is near, and not a god that is far off. It is by no means a primitive conception which we find in the dedicatory prayer put into the mouth of Solomon (1 K 8th), that, if people go out to battle against their enemy, and they pray to their God towards the house which is built to His name, He will make their prayer and supplication heard to the heaven in which He really dwells.* Primitive warriors wanted to have their gods in their midst. Of what use was the Divine Father (see Nu 21st) at home, when his sons were in danger in the field? It was but natural, therefore, that the gods should be carried out wherever their help was needed (2 S 5th; cf. Polyb., vii. ix. 2; Schwally, *op. cit.* p. 9).

Man is slow to give up idolatry. In the course of the ages, indeed, he modifies his primitive conceptions of God; the inanimate fetish gives place to the bestial form, and this again to an anthropomorphic representation, tending more and more towards the spiritual. But the truly spiritual conception of God, enunciated alike by the prophet Jeremiah (23rd, 24) and by our Lord (Jn 4th, 24), which is incompatible with local presence, seems ever to have been beyond the comprehension of the majority of mankind. Jeremiah's warning (3rd) has been disregarded even by those who have called themselves Christians. At any rate, in the minds of many ignorant folk, the place of the gods of heathenism has been taken by the Saints, and the shrines containing relics of these have been venerated as being virtually dwelling-places of divinity. Between the mediæval reliance on the protection afforded by holy relics and the primitive Israelite trust in the Ark, there is but little real difference. In theory the mediæval Christian denied that his shrine contained a god, but his practice too often gave the lie to his theory.

R. H. KENNETT.

ARMENIA.

ARMENIA (Vannio).—The present article deals with Proto-Armenian religion as revealed in the Vannic or 'Khaldian' cuneiform inscriptions. The Indo-European Armenians, who are described by Herodotus (vii. 73) and Eudoxus (*ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρμενία*) as immigrants from Phrygia, did not become masters of the Armenian highlands till the close of the 7th cent. B.C. Kretschmer (*Einleit. in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache*, pp. 209-11) brings them from Ormenion in Thessaly by way of Armenia, near Sinôpe (cf. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, 136; Prásek, *Gesch. der Meder und Perser*, i. 147). The name Armenia (Old Pers. *Armina*, New Sus. *Arminiya*) is first met with in the Bab. and Pers. cuneiform inscriptions of the Achæmenian age, and may be connected with the Vannic *armani*, 'written tablet.' The country had been previously known to its southern neighbours as *Urartu* (Heb. *Ararat*), which the Babylonian scribes explained as a compound of *Ura-Urtu* or 'Highlands.' *Urtu* is the name of the district near Lake Erivan in a Vannic inscription of Sarduris II. (Sayce, lxxxii. 6), though in the bilingual inscription of Topzawa *Urartu* is the Assyrian representative of the Vannic *Lulus*. The usual title assumed by the Vannic princes was 'king of Biainas' or 'Bianas,' the district in which their capital Tuspas (Tosp), the modern Van, was

situated. Biainas is the Buana of Ptolemy (v. 13, now Van).

The Vannic inscriptions, which extend from about B.C. 840 to 640, are written in the cuneiform characters of Nineveh, but in a language which is neither Indo-European nor Semitic, and is believed by some scholars to be related to Georgian. It seems to have been spoken over the larger part of the later Armenia, and to have been connected with that of Mitanni in Northern Mesopotamia. Like the language, the religion of the Vannic population was peculiar, and is difficult to correlate with that of any other people.

At the head of the pantheon was Khaldis, whose children the Vannic kings and people regarded themselves as being in a special sense. Hence they called themselves 'the Khaldians,' a name also applied to the numerous local deities who were 'children of Khaldis.' But though Khaldis was the national god, he could be localized like the Semitic Baal, and we hear of a 'Khaldis of the north (?)' and a 'Khaldis of the south (?)', while a dedication is sometimes addressed to 'all the Khaldis-gods.' Along with two other divinities, Teisbas the Air-god (Assyrian Hadad-Ramman) and Ardinis the Sun-god, Khaldis was the member of a triad which occupied the supreme place in the

* The idea that the Ark could legitimately be carried only by hand may have arisen from the fact that it was so carried into Zion (2 S 6th). There is no mention on that occasion of any priest other than the king himself. The account of the carrying of the Ark in the Book of Joshua belongs to a later development of the religion of Israel.

† A moon god and a god of fertility are not, however, incompatible conceptions (see Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 297 ff. and cf. Dt 32nd).

* The phrase 'וְכָל־הָעָם־בְּיָמָיו־עָבְדוּ־אֵת־יְהוָה' has long been a crux to grammarians. We venture to emend the passage by pointing עָבְדוּ (as P¹ 10), and understand עָבְדוּ as the accusative of direction (cf. v. 30). The writer believes, like the prophet of Is 66th, that 'heaven is God's throne,' but trusts that the prayers offered at the earthly sanctuary will be, as it were, made audible by the Lord at His heavenly throne. The quaintness of the expression is due to the writer's attempt to combine the phraseology of more primitive religion with his own spiritual faith.

Vannic divine hierarchy, and the conception of which may have been borrowed from Babylonia. Below the triad came the multitudinous deities of inferior rank, including even the 'Khaldis-gods,' or local forms of Khaldis. A long list of these, with the offerings to be made to them, is engraved on a rock called Meher Kapussi, two miles east of Van (Sayce, v.). Among them is Selardis the Moon-god, as well as the gods of various cities and countries incorporated into the Vannic kingdom by conquest or otherwise. Most of these deities were merely deified States, and consequently had no individual names of their own; it was only when they were within the limits of the district originally inhabited by the tribe whose supreme god was Khaldis that they properly became forms of the national god, and could be called 'Khaldians.' As the Vannic kingdom extended, however, and the idea of a common nationality grew stronger, the deified State, even if originally outside 'the land of Khaldis,' tended to pass into a Khaldis; thus the deity called at Meher Kapussi 'the god of the city of Ardinis' (the Muzazir of the Assyrians), became, a century later, in the time of Sargon, himself a 'Khaldis.' Only one goddess is mentioned in the inscriptions, and since her name, Saris, seems to have been borrowed from the Assyrian Istar, it is possible that she was of foreign origin. The later (Armenian) legends which bring Semiramis into the plain of Van are possibly an echo of the fact.

How far Vannic religion, as it comes before us in the inscriptions, may have been influenced by Assyria or Babylonia it is impossible to say. Teisbas, however, who was afterwards united into a triad with Khaldis and the Sun-god, appears originally to have been the god of a tribe or nationality which was distinct from that of the Vannic 'Khaldians,' while among the neighbouring Hittites each city had its Sun-god, who was identified with the deified State. The conception of gods in the Assyro-Babylonian sense may have been due primarily to contact with the cultured lands of the south, like the titles 'lord of multitudes' and 'faithful shepherd of mankind' given to Khaldis. At all events, underneath the divine hierarchy of the official cult we find clear traces of an earlier phase of belief, in which the material fetish takes the place of the god. Sacrifices were made not only to Khaldis and his brother deities, but also to 'the gate of the land of Khaldis,' 'the gate of Teisbas in the city of Eridias,' 'the gate of the Sun-god in the city of Uisis'—all of which are carefully distinguished from 'the Khaldis-gods of the door' or 'the Khaldis-gods of the chapel'—as well as to 'the shields of the land of Khaldis,' and even to 'the foot-soldiers of the land of Khaldis' and 'the foot-soldiers of Teisbas' (Sayce, v. 13). These foot-soldiers were the temple-guards, armed priests, and attendants, who were called Seluians, Urbikans, etc. A prominent object of veneration was the vine, the sacred tree of the Vannic people, which was sometimes planted by the side of the temple of Khaldis (ib. v. 30, 31, lxxxvi. 10), sometimes in a sacred enclosure of its own. Sar-duris II., in one of his inscriptions (ib. li.), describes his endowment of one of these vines, which he had consecrated and named after himself on the north shore of the lake of Van. The vine was often planted in the middle of a garden which was attached to the temple. Spears and shields, specimens of which from Toprak Kaleh are now in the British Museum, were hung up on either side of the entrance to the temple, large basins of bronze or terra-cotta, on stands, being placed in front of the shrine for the purpose of ablution.

The endowments made to the temples usually took the form of provision for the sacrifices and

offerings, which were numerous and plentiful. The great inscription of Meher Kapussi gives a long list of the sacrifices to be offered to each deity and sacred object recognized in the vicinity, on every day of the month. Thus 6 lambs were to be offered to the Vannic triad, 17 oxen and 34 sheep to Khaldis, 6 oxen and 12 sheep to Teisbas, 4 oxen and 8 sheep to the Sun-god, 1 ox and 2 sheep to the gate of the land of Khaldis, 2 oxen and 4 sheep to the foot-soldiers of the land of Khaldis. Libations of wine were also to be poured out, the wine being made, it would seem, from the fruit of the consecrated vines. Comparatively few, however, of the vast herds of oxen and sheep presented to the gods could actually have been offered in sacrifice; according to the inscription of Kelishin (Sayce, lvi.), when 'the gate of the land of Khaldis' was dedicated to Khaldis, 112 oxen, 9020 sucklings and lambs, and 12,490 sheep were presented to the god. Most of these must have been intended to serve as a source of income. Similarly the prisoners who were devoted to Khaldis would have been given as temple slaves. In the case of victory, the share of the god, we are told, was a sixtieth of the spoil (ib. xliii. 16). The temples, of which there were several varieties, probably possessed festival halls, since we hear of sacred feasts in honour of the goda.

LITERATURE.—Sayce, 'The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van Deciphered and Translated,' in *JRAS*, 1882, 1883, 1893, 1894, 1901, 1903; C. F. Lehmann, *SBW* xxix., 1900; Beick and Messerschmidt, *Anatole*, i., 1904. For the history of the kingdom of Ararat and the Khaldis see Prásek, *Gesch. der Meder und Perser* (Gotha, 1906), 64. A. H. SAYCE.

ARMENIA (Zoroastrian).—The sources of our information for the earlier epoch of Armenia's religious history are the Urartic or Vannic inscriptions (see preceding art.). For the Indo-Germanic period down to Christian times the most important native sources are Agathangelos (5th cent., ed. Venice, 1862), Moses of Chorene's *History and Geography of Armenia* (5th cent., ed. Venice, 1865), Faustus of Byzantium (5th cent., ed. Venice, 1889), Eznik (5th cent., ed. Venice, 1826), Anania Shiragaci, (7th cent., ed. Patkanean, St. Petersburg, 1877), and (for names) the ancient Armenian version of the OT. We also gather short but valuable notices from Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Strabo's *Geography*, and the works of Dio Cassius, Pliny, and Tacitus. Considerable as the material is, it is but incidental to the main purpose of these ancient authors, and is, therefore, very fragmentary. We may, however, hope for important additions to our knowledge of Zoroastrianism in early Armenia from the critical study of Armenian folk-lore and popular superstitions, when enough shall have been collected for the purpose.

Originally there was nothing in common between the Iranian races and the ancient inhabitants of Armenia, who were probably connected with the Hittites in the West and the Caucasian races of the North (Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier*, Strassburg, 1898; Messerschmidt, *Die Hittiter*², Leipzig, 1902, p. 10; Winckler, 'Westasien' in Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1901, iii. 125 ff.; Hommel, *Grundriss der Geog. und Gesch. des alten Orients*, Munich, 1904, pp. 37 ff.; Prásek, *Gesch. der Meder und Perser*, Gotha, 1906, i. 57, 65). But Armenia, owing to its geographical position, was destined to come into contact with Iranian politics and civilization when the Medes began their political career. Towards the end of the 7th cent. B.C. the Vannic, or Khaldian, kingdom (see preceding art.) fell before the invading hordes of Cimmerians and Scythians, and during this period of anarchy the Armenians seem also to have entered the country which was henceforth to bear their name (Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, Strassburg, 1905-07, p. 138). Meanwhile the Medes had begun

their national career not long before 935 B.C. (Justi, 'Gesch. Irans' in Geiger-Kuhn's *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, Strassburg, 1904, ii. 404-406), and the Median empire had been founded, probably in 678-677 B.C. (Prášek, *op. cit.* i. 108). From that time Iranian influence was strongly felt in the politics, language, and social organization of Armenia, and the Iranian religion, with its terminology, names of divinities, and many folk-beliefs, permeated Armenian paganism. How far the resultant religion may be treated as Zoroastrianism will become clear from a more detailed study of the material available, which may most conveniently be arranged under the main rubrics of Zoroastrian theology.

I. CELESTIAL HOSTS.—1. Ahura Mazda.—The chief deity of ancient Armenia was Aramazd, the Zoroastrian Ahura Mazda (see ORMAZD). In Agathangelos, the historian of the conversion of Armenia, King Tiridates calls him 'the maker of heaven and earth; father of all the gods, especially of Anahit, Mihr, and Nanē; giver of abundance and fatness' (Agathangelos, pp. 58, 61, 106, 590, 591, 593); while Moses of Chorene incidentally remarks: 'There is no such thing as Aramazd; but among those who would be Aramazd, there are four who bear the name, and one of them is Kund Aramazd' (*Hist. of Armenia*, i. 31). It is uncertain whether this refers to the Greek Zeus or to the Iranian Ahura Mazda. In the first case it might mean 'the bald (φαλακρός) Zeus'; in the second, *kund* might be translated 'brave,' 'strong' (Stepan's modern Armenian translation of Moses of Chorene, p. 395). In fact, 'great' and 'brave,' or 'strong,' are frequent epithets of the Armenian Ahura Mazda (Agathangelos, pp. 52, 61, 106).* The name *Aramazd* reminds us of the *Auramazdā* of the Old Pers. inscriptions, rather than of the Avesta or Pahlavi forms *Ahura Mazda* or *Aūharmazd*, *Ohrmazd* (cf. Armen. *Ormizd*). There is another important passage in Agathangelos (p. 623) about Aramazd, which may be tentatively translated thus: 'In the season of the god of the New Year, (who is) the bringer of new fruits, of the festivities of the hospitable god.'

The later Greek translation reads: καὶ τὰ μνημόσυνα τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐταξεν εἰς τὴν μεγάλην πανήγυριν τῆς λεγομένης Διαιστορίας, τῆς ματαίως εἰς τιμὴν τῶν παλαιῶν θεοδαμάτων γενομένης ἀπὸ τῶν καὶ τῶν καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν καρπῶν, ἐνδείκνυντες θεῶν λεγομένης τῆς πανηγύρεως, ἣν ἀπετελοῦσαν τὰ τῶν ἐκείνων εὐφραυντικὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων καρπῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πανηγύρεως τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. 'And he ordered the commemoration of (the saints) brought in on the great feast of the so-called Diapompe, which was vainly held in honour of the ancient gods from the new seasons unto the first fruits, this being the festival called that of the hospitable gods (translation of *dik*, 'god'), which they joyfully celebrate in that place from olden times, on the last day of the year.'

This translation shows that the Gr. supposes a different, but none the less obscure, Armen. recension. The text must have become corrupt in early times, and yet St. Clair-Tisdall (*Conversion of Armenia to the Christian Faith*, London, 1896, p. 50) sees in it a new deity Amenabel, who had for a title Amanor ('New Year'). Others recognized Vanatur, 'hospitable,' as a separate deity, and explained it as 'deus hospitalis' (Gelzer, *Zur Armen. Götterlehre*,† pp. 133, 146) or 'Lord of Van' (Hommel, *op. cit.* p. 39). Moses of Chorene, however, in his allusion to this festival (ii. 66), treats *Amanor* simply as a common noun; nor does anything in the text of Agathangelos as it stands, either here or elsewhere, make it necessary to take either Amanor or Amenabel as the name of a deity. As for Vanatur, the only other time we find it mentioned (Armen. tr. of 2 Mac 6² LXX, Διὸς Ζερλου, Vulg. *Iovis hospitalis*), it is used as an

adjective qualifying Aramazd. We can, therefore, fairly infer that it is simply the Greek Ζεὺς Ἐταῖος (see also Alishan, *Ancient Faith of the Armenians*, Venice, 1895, p. 256), whose functions were transferred to Aramazd under the Hellenizing influence of the Seljuks, or of Tigranes the Great and his successors. Very probably the festival of Amanor or Navasard, which is poetically described as a *fête champêtre* (Grigor Magistros), was celebrated in honour of Aramazd, who was the lord of the New Year, quite as the six days' celebration of the Zoroastrian New Year began on the day Auharmazd of the month Fravartin in honour of the creation of the world in six days by Ahura Mazda (Mar. 15; cf. al-Biruni, *op. cit.* pp. 199-204). Navasard fell, according to the later calendar of pagan Armenia, in August, when the new fruits began to be gathered; and the Armenians still perpetuate the memory of this early autumn celebration by distributing and eating fruits on New Year's day.

The most prominent sanctuaries of Aramazd were in the ancient city of Ani in Daranali, the burial-place of the Armenian kings (Agathangelos, p. 590), as well as in the village of Bagavan in Bagravand (ib. p. 612), and on Mount Palat or Pashat ('The coming of the Rhipsaimean Virgins' in Alishan's *Hayapatum*, Venice, 1901-02, p. 79).

It is not easy to determine what the Armenians understood by the fatherhood of Aramazd, as no goddess is mentioned as his consort, not even Spandaramet. It is through sheer ignorance that a late martyrology (quoted by Alishan, *Ancient Faith*, p. 260) calls Anahit the wife of Aramazd, she being rather his daughter (see below). The fatherhood of Ahura Mazda, however, is not altogether foreign even to the Avesta, which represents him as both the father and the husband of Spenta Armaiti (*Yasna* xiv. 4, xxxiv. 10; *Yasht* xvii. 16), as well as the husband of other female divinities (according to the Pahlavi commentary on *Vendidad* xi. 5, of the Fravashis; cf. also *Yasna* xxxviii. 1; *Visparad* iii. 4), and the parent of Asha Vahishta (*Yasna* xlvii. 2), Sraosha, Rashnu, Mithra Ashi (*Yasht* xvii. 16), Atarsh (*Yasna* xxxvi. 3, etc.), Haoma (*Yasna* xi. 2), and, indeed, of all the Amesha Spentas (*Yasht* xvii. 2). On the whole, one may affirm that the Armenian Aramazd agrees quite well, in the little that we know about him, with the Avesta Ahura Mazda. In the Armenian of the 5th cent. *Ormizd*, the variant form of Aramazd, generally refers to the later form of the Zoroastrian Ahura Mazda; but the adjective *Ormazdakan*, 'Ormazdian,' may also have been used in reference to the Armenian Aramazd and the Greek Zeus.

2. Amesha Spentas.—Of these Zoroastrian archangels (see art. AMESHA SPENTAS), only Spenta Armaiti is unmistakably present in the Armenian pantheon. Her name appears in two forms, *Spandaramet* and *Sandaramet*, with a difference of meaning, the latter term denoting 'abyss,' 'Hades' (cf. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.*, Strassburg, 1897, i. 73-74); but *Spandaramet* never occurs in the abstract theological meaning that the Avesta attached to the Indo-Iranian spirit of the earth and the keeper of vineyards (cf. the Pahlavi *Shāyast-lā-Shāyast*, xv. 5; Gray, *ARW* vii. 364-371). It is owing to this latter function of Spenta Armaiti, however, that the Armenian Christian writers of the 5th cent. used her name to translate Διόνυσος in 2 Mac 6⁷, although, by a strange inconsistency, they translated the same name by *Ormazdakan gad*, 'Ormazdian,' in 2 Mac 14²³, and 3 Mac 2²⁹. *Spandaramet* in the form of *Sandaramet*, as already noted, came to be a synonym of Hades, and was very frequently referred to in theological books and in the Church

* Cf. such common Avesta epithets of Ahura Mazda as *mazdista* ('most great'), *sevista* ('most mighty'); e.g. *Yasna* xvi. 1.

† *Berichte der. königl. sächs. gesellsch. der Wissensch. phil.-hist. Classe*, 1896, pp. 99-143.

hymnary. This sense is not altogether foreign to the Avesta itself, where, from being the genius of the earth, Spenta Armaiti gradually becomes the earth itself, with the dark, woeful under world. 'The darkness of Spenta Armaiti' (*Vendidad* iii. 35) is a well-known expression of the Avesta, which has this in common with the Bab. cosmology, that the earth is also identical with the Hades which it contains, and that the powers of Hades have something to do with the fertility of the ground and with agriculture (Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 19; for references to Spandaramet see Lagarde's *Purim*, Göttingen, 1887, p. 42).

Besides Spandaramet, we probably see the traces of the Amesha Spentas Haurvatāt and Ameretāt ('health' and 'immortality') in the Armenian *Aurotmaurot*, the name of a flower (*Hyacinthus racemosus* Dodonoi), first mentioned by Agathangelos, p. 480 (cf. Abeghian, *Armen. Volksglaube*, pp. 62-63).

In the Qur'ān, ii. 96, Hārūt and Mārūt are mentioned as the names of two angels in Babel, who, according to Muslim tradition, having shown themselves impatient with human sinfulness, were sent down to earth by God to assume human flesh and to live in human circumstances. They could not, however, resist the temptations of lust, and were condemned to stay on earth, where they thereafter taught witchcraft. In the Arabic story of Bulāqiyā, incorporated with the story of Ḥasib Karīm-ad-Dīn in the *Arabian Nights* (tr. Payne, v. 72-73; cf. Horowitz in *ZDMG* lv. 528), Illiis and Millis, or, in Tha'alabī's *Qudḡ al-Anbiyā*, Jiblit and Tūlūt, are mentioned as the first inhabitants of hell. Burton and Eb. Nestle (*ZDMG* lv. 602) identify these with Hārūt and Mārūt, which have long been recognized as the Pahlavi Horvadaṭ (or Khārdāt) and Amerōdaṭ (or Amūrdaṭ), or the Avesta Haurvatāt and Ameretāt. The Muhammadan legend in regard to these fallen angels has many parallels in Rabbinical literature, and the whole is, ultimately, a Rabbinical elaboration of the intermarriage of the sons of God and the daughters of men (Gn 6⁴; cf. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* Bonn, 1834, pp. 106-108; Hirsch in *JE* v. 333). How the Zoroastrian archangels were drawn into this Rabbinical legend of the Qur'ān, and by what curious accident, instead of the later Pahlavi forms, we have Hārūt and Mārūt, which find their parallel only in the Armenian name of a flower, is very problematical. Either Hārūt and Mārūt are Parthian, or even Syrian, corruptions of the archangels' names, and found their way both to Armenia and Arabia, or they are purely Armenian forms, and reached Muhammad from the north. At all events, Hārūt and Mārūt were not remembered in Armenia as angels. We know, on the other hand, that the two Zoroastrian archangels in question were protectors of the vegetable world (Darmesteter, *Haurvatāt et Ameretāt*, Paris, 1876, *passim*), and two flowers were respectively consecrated to them—the lily and the cambo (*Bundahishn*, xvii. 24; perhaps the *Michelia Champaca*, or Champak); so that Haurvatāt and Ameretāt may once have been known in Armenia as tutelary deities of plants.

According to Strabo (p. 512), Omanos (Vohu Manah) and Anadatus (Ameretāt), with Anaitis (Anāhita) as a chief deity, formed a triad in Zela—a cult which has not yet entirely disappeared (Gelzer, *ZA*, 1876, 14 ff.). This peculiar cult, however, had probably spread northward from Cappadocia, where there was a purer type of Mazdaism than in Armenia (Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*², Brussels, 1902, ch. i.).

3. Yazatas.—The Zoroastrian yazatas, or angels, are better represented in the Armenian religion than the Amesha Spentas. We shall discuss them in the order adopted by Jackson in *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. 640-645.

(1) *Atar*, or fire.—We cannot tell whether fire-worship was a part of the ancient cult of the Urartian period, or was first introduced in Iranian times. Moses of Chorene (ii. 77) mentions a fire-altar in Bagavan, upon which Ardashir, after the conquest of Armenia,* commanded that the fire of Ormazd be kept unquenched. Anania Shiragaci, in his discourse on the Cross, speaks of a *nurbak* in Armenia, which Hübschmann (*Armen. Gram.* i. 181) rightly interprets as a loan-word from the Pahlavi *frōdāg* (Avesta **hvarēnō-baryā*, '[fire of] divine glory'), a fire established, according to Iranian tradition, in Chorasmia, and later removed

to Kabul (*Bundahishn*, xvii. 5-6). In the hagiography called the 'Coming of the Rhipsimian Virgins' (Alishan, *Hayapatum*, p. 79), wrongly ascribed to Moses of Chorene, we read that on the top of Mount Palat (?) there was a house of Aramazd and Astāik (Vonus), and on a lower peak, to the south-east, there was 'a house of fire, of insatiable fire, the god of incessant combustion.' At the foot of the mountain, moreover, there was a mighty spring. The place was called Bath. 'They burnt the Sister Fire and the Brother Spring.' In the caves of the rocks dwelt two dragons, devilish and black, to which young men and young virgins were sacrificed. And the devils, gladdened by this bloodshed, produced, by means of the altars of the fire and the spring (?), terrible sights, lights, and rolling thunder; and the deep valley was full of snakes and scorpions.' Elsewhere we read: 'Because they called the fire sister, and the spring brother, they did not throw the ashes away, but they wiped them with the tears of the brother' ('Story of the Picture of the Holy Virgin' in Moses of Chorene, *Works*, ed. Venice, 1865).

This form of fire-worship in a volcanic region has hardly anything in common with Zoroastrianism, though we have a true remnant of fire-worship, even in modern times, in the annual bonfire kindled everywhere by Armenians on the festival of Candelmas, or the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Feb. 13=2), when the fire is kindled from a candle on the altar. It is an occasion of rejoicing and good augury. The festival is called in popular language *Tērntaz*, and in the Church calendar the commemoration is called *Teatnedatay*, 'Presentation of the Lord' (Abeghian, *op. cit.* p. 72).

It seems that the ashes of the sacred fire were also honoured, and the Christian writers love to remind their readers of the times when their ancestors were ash-worshippers (Agathangelos, p. 77; Anania Shiragaci, *Praise of the Cross*, quoted by Alishan, *op. cit.* p. 45 ff.); while Thomas Artseruni applies this name to the Zoroastrians (*Hist.* i. 9-10). Nevertheless, vestiges of ancient fire-worship are still to be found among the Armenians of the interior (Abeghian, *op. cit.* pp. 66-74).

It is quite possible that two types of fire-worship existed among the Armenians—one, older and more primitive, in which fire was a feminine principle, and stood in close association with water, as a masculine principle; the other type similar to the Zoroastrian.

(2) *Water*.—Water was honoured in Armenia as a masculine principle. Many rivers and springs were sacred, and endowed with beneficent virtues. According to Tacitus (*Annals*, vi. 37), the Armenians offered horses as sacrifices to the Euphrates, and divined by its waves and foam. Sacred cities were built around the river Araxes and its tributaries. Even now there are many sacred springs with healing power, and the people always feel a certain veneration towards water in motion.

Transfiguration Sunday in the Armenian Church was amalgamated with an unmistakably pagan water-festival, during which the people amused themselves, as they still do, with throwing water at each other. A similar custom connected with New Year's Day is reported of the Persians (Alishan, *op. cit.* p. 305; al-Birūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 199, 203). The Armenian water-day, or feast of the Transfiguration, is called *vardavar*, or 'rose-festival' (from *vard*, 'rose'). It falls in the last days of the year, according to the ancient Armenian calendar (Alishan, *op. cit.* pp. 283, 305).

* On water and fire as brother and sister see Abeghian, *op. cit.* p. 67. Lazar of Pharphe says (ed. Venice, p. 203): 'They took the (sacred) brazier and dashed it into the water, as into the bosom of its brother, according to the saying of the false teachers of the Persians.'

* Shapur, not Ardashir, actually took possession of Armenia about A.D. 260.

The great Zoroastrian water-*yasatas*, however, do not seem to be connected with water-worship in Armenia, even when they have a place in the Armenian pantheon. Of these *yasatas* we perhaps recognize Apām Napāt in the name of *Npat*, the *Npātr̥y* of Strabo, a sacred mountain of Bagravand, *Npat* being also the designation of the 26th day of the Armenian month, which was consecrated to the mountain.

(3) *Anahit*.—This goddess, doubtless an importation from Persia, was the most popular deity of Armenia. In Agathangelos she is called 'the great lady [queen] Anahit, the glory and life-giver of our nation' (p. 51) 'through whom the country of the Armenians exists and has life' (p. 61), and she is 'the mother of sobriety, the benefactress of all mankind, and a daughter of Aramazd' (p. 52). She is invoked, in an edict of Tiridates, to protect and watch over the country (p. 106). She was also called the golden mother (p. 607), and statues of massive gold were consecrated to her (pp. 591, 607), one of which (at Erēz?) was captured by the soldiers of Antony (Pliny, *HN* xxx. 24). With this may be compared the description of Ardvī Sūrā Anāhita in the Avesta (especially *Yasht* v. 64, 78, 101–102, 123, 128–129), 'who purifyeth the seed of all males; who purifyeth the wombs of all females for birth; who maketh all females bear with ease; who giveth all females meet (and) timely milk' (*Yasna* lxv. 2 = *Yasht* v. 2), besides multiplying herds and lands (*Yasht* v. i.). Although the Iranian texts nowhere consider her the daughter of Ahura Mazda, she is 'his only water' (*Yasht* v. 5); and the epithet 'golden' of Agathangelos is paralleled by her Avesta attributes, 'laced with gold' (*Yasht* v. 64), 'wearing a golden kerchief' (ib. 123), 'with square golden earrings' (ib. 127), and 'with a golden diadem' (ib. 128; for further details, cf. Windischmann, *Dispers. Anāhita oder Anaitis*, Munich, 1856). While the sacrifices offered to Anāhita as described in the Avesta (e.g. *Yasht* v. 15, 21) are quite conventional, the Armenians offered her green branches and white heifers (Agathangelos, p. 49). Lucullus (Plutarch, *Lives*) saw in Yashtishat (?) herds of these heifers, which were used only for sacrifices, at all other times 'wandering up and down undisturbed, with the mark of the goddess, a torch, branded on them.' Anahit was sought also in cases of great sickness (Moses of Chorene, ii. 80).

Three elements are to be distinguished in the Avesta Anāhita. She is a planet (Venus), a goddess of the fertilizing waters, and a female deity presiding over the birth and nursing of children, and the increase and maintenance of all things. The Armenian Anahit is pre-eminently a goddess, with no reference to a planet or water. The fact that in Erēz this goddess admitted of obscene forms of worship, such as are generally associated with the orgiastic nature-cults of Asia Minor, must be explained by the proximity of Akilisene to Asia Minor, as well as by the part which the Avesta Anāhita plays in human conception. Strabo says of this special cult (p. 532):

'Both the Medes and the Armenians honour all the sacred matters of the Persians; but above everything the Armenians honour Anahit, to whom they erect temples in other places, and specially in Akilisene [Ekeleac]. There they consecrate to her servants, male and female,* and this is not surprising; but the most illustrious men of the nation give to her their virgin daughters, who, according to custom, give themselves up to fornication for a long time near the goddess, after which they are given in marriage, and none thinks it unworthy to live with them.'

We have absolutely no proof, however, that this sacred prostitution was characteristic of the Armenian Anahit throughout the country, especially as native Christian writers do not mention it, although

* Cf. the male and female temple-prostitutes of the ancient Semites, adopted by the Cappadocians as well as by the Armenians.

they might have used it to great advantage in their attacks upon the old religion.

Besides the great sanctuary in Akilisene, which was also called the Anahitian district (Dio Cassius, xxxvi. 88), Anahit had temples in Artashat (Artaxata) (Agathangelos, p. 584) and in Yashtishat (p. 608); while a mountain, now difficult to identify, was called the throne of Nahat (Faustus of Byzantium, v. 25), probably owing to the presence of a great sanctuary of the goddess there.

An image of Anahit is said to have existed in the district of the Anzavatzis near the 'Stone of the Blacksmiths,' where, as in Buth, there was a mixed worship of fire and water, along with magical practices (Alishan, *Hayapatum*, p. 50).

The great festival of Anahit was celebrated, according to Alishan (*Ancient Faith*, p. 269), on the 15th of Navasard with processions and rejoicings. The 19th day of every month was also consecrated to her (Teherpet, 1820, quoted by Alishan, *Ancient Faith*, p. 143).

(4) *Sun and moon*.—Moses of Chorene makes repeated allusions to the worship of the sun and moon in Armenia. In oaths the name of the sun was almost invariably invoked (ii. 19), and there were also altars and images of the sun and moon (ii. 77). Of what type these images were, and how far they were influenced by Syrian sun-worship, we cannot tell. Agathangelos, in the alleged letter of Diocletian to Tiridates, unconsciously bears witness to the Armenian veneration for the sun, moon, and stars (p. 125). But the oldest witness is Xenophon, who notes that the Armenians sacrificed horses to the sun (*Anabasis*, iv. 5. 35; Weber in his *Die Kathol. Kirche in Armenien*, Freiburg, 1903, p. 23, understands this *ἥλιος* as Mithra). The eighth month of the Armenian year and, what is more significant, the first day of every month, were consecrated to the sun and bore its name, while the first day of the Persian month was assigned to Ahuramazda, the eleventh day being given to the sun in the Zoroastrian calendar. The twenty-fourth day of the Armenian month was consecrated to the moon, as was the twelfth in the Avesta system. The Armenians, like the Persians and most of the sun-worshipping peoples of the East, prayed towards the rising sun, a custom which the early Church unconsciously adopted, so that to this day the Armenian churches are built and the Armenian dead are buried toward the east, the west being the abode of the devil (see below). As to the moon, Anania Shiragaci says in his *Demonstrations* (ed. Patkanean, p. 66): 'The first fathers called her the nurse of the plants,' an idea which has its parallel, and probably its source, in the short *Mah-yasht* of the Avesta, particularly in that vegetation grows best in the time of the waxing moon (*Yasht* vii. 4; al-Biruni, *Chronology*, p. 219). Ohan Mantaguni (5th cent.) combats the general belief that the moon prospers or mars the plants (*Discourses*, Venice, 1860, pp. 198–199). The Armenians also shared the superstitions about the eclipse of the sun and moon current among the Persians, who held that these phenomena were caused by two dark bodies,* offspring of the primeval ox, revolving below the sun and moon, and occasionally passing between them and the earth (*Dālistān-i Denīg*, lxix. 2; *Shikand gūmānīg Vjār*, iv. 46). It was, moreover, a popular belief that a sorcerer could bring the sun or moon down from heaven by witchcraft (Eznik, *Refutation of Sects*, p. 217), though this does not find a parallel in the extant Zoroastrian writings.

No doubt the Persian worship of the sun and moon found a similar worship of long standing in Armenia, that of the Urartians (see preceding

* The modern Armenians still speak of an 'evil star' which causes the eclipses.

art.), and could do little more than influence it to a certain extent.

It has been suggested, with some plausibility, that the famous hymn to Vahagn, quoted by Moses of Chorene (l. 31), sounds like a sun-hymn:

'The heavens travelled; the earth travelled;
Also the purple sea travelled;
And in the sea
The red reed travelled.
From the stem of the reed there arose a smoke;
From the stem of the reed there arose a flame;
From the flame ran forth a young man.
He had fiery hair;
He had a beard of flame;
And his eyes were suns.'

Both sun- and moon-worship have left deep traces in the popular beliefs of the present Armenians (see Abeghlian, *op. cit.* pp. 41-49; Tehéraz, 'Notes sur la mythologie Arménienne,' in *Transact. of 9th Internat. Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1893, II, 823 ff.).

In the Armen. writers from the 11th to the 14th cent. we meet with a sect or tribe called 'the Sons of the Sun,' first mentioned by Grigor Magistros (11th cent.), who says, placing them between the Armenian Paulicians and Thondracians: 'Behold, some of the Persian Magi of the Mage Zoroaster and the sun-worshippers enamoured of them, called Sons of the Sun, many of whom live in Mesopotamia, call themselves Christians, but we know how viciously and abominably they conduct themselves.' When, however, David, son of Alauk, says, a little later: 'The Paulicians or Euchites are the tribe of the Sons of the Sun,' he is evidently confusing three distinct things. From the letter of Nerses Shnorhall (12th cent.) about the 'Sons of the Sun' we learn that they wished to be received into the flock of Christ, so that, in his opinion, they were Armenians both in language and in nationality, who had remained unconverted in the times of Gregory the Illuminator, but now abjured their errors and their evil ways. Nerses gives special instruction about their reception into the Christian Church, about their moral life, and about giving up their magical practices, especially among women. 'Teach them to abstain,' he writes, 'from mixing impure things in the food and drink of the Christians for the purposes of their own diabolical love.' Nerses also mentions their worship of the sun and their reverence for the poplar. Later the Catholicos Mkhit'ar, in a letter to the pope, says: 'At that time (middle of the 14th cent.) there were Sons of the Sun in Manazkert'; and in the same century, Mkhit'ar Aparaneci writes: 'There are some Armenians by birth and language who worship the sun, and are called Sons of the Sun. They have neither writing nor literature. Fathers teach children by tradition what they have learned from the Mage Zoroaster, the chief of the fire-temple. Whithersoever the sun goes, they worship him in that direction, and they reverence the poplar, the lily, the cotton plant, and the other plants which turn towards the sun. They make themselves like those flowers in faith and action, high and fragrant. They offer sacrifices for the dead, and they pay taxes to the Armenian priests. Their chief is called Hazbed, and twice or oftener every year all of them, men and women, sons and daughters, gather in a very dark pit.' In another place we read:

'A woman feels no disgust towards
A Son of the Sun;
Nor towards a Turk or an Armenian;
Whomsoever she loves, he is her faith.'

In the 14th cent. Thomas Mejp'ocel tells us that Timurlang came to Mardin (Mesopotamia) and destroyed four villages of the Sons of the Sun—Shol, Shemexač, Safari, and Marax, 'but by the machinations of the devil they multiplied in Mardin and Amid.'

These quotations are drawn from Allahan's *Ancient Faith of the Armenians*, and from Grigor Vantzian's art. in *Handes Amoria*, 1893, p. 13 ff. Some of them are evidently of little value. Vantzian tries to prove that the Sons of the Sun were not Armenians, because (1) they had no literature, (2) they were not persecuted fanatically by the Christian Armenians. Moreover, he finds it difficult to identify them with the ancient Zoroastrians, because they had no magi or fire-worship. These conclusions disregard the best contemporaneous authorities on the subject. Even Grigor Magistros interposes them, in his allusion to them, between the Armenian Paulicians and the Thondracians. They spoke Armenian and called themselves Armenians. If they were not persecuted, this may well be due to the fact that the Christian Church has always shown more animosity against its own heresies than against heathenism, even within the boundaries of the national Church. There is, of course, no evidence of an organized Zoroastrianism or of a sacred fire among the 'Sons of the Sun'; but they might very well have been the remnants of a scattered community which had lost its magi and sacred fire. They may possibly have belonged originally to some district of Eastern Armenia, or they may have been descendants of Armenian converts during the strong Zoroastrian propaganda of the 5th cent. in Armenia. This, however, must still remain an open question, although it should be noted that they have lately been found to have some points of contact with the Yazidis (*q.v.*).

(5) *Tishtrya*.—Another important *yazata* of

Zoroastrianism is *Tishtrya* (Sirius), the 'bright and glorious star' (*Yasna* I. 11, xxvii. 2, etc.) who assumes the form of a bull with golden horns (*Vendidad* xix. 37), and again, as a white horse with yellow ears and golden bridle, fights against the demon Apaosha (drought) and pours upon the earth the fertilizing rain and the seeds of all plants (*Yasht* viii. 18-33; *Bundahishn* vii. 4-13). He is the chief of all the stars (*Yasht* viii. 21, Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*, 47), or at least of the stars of the East (*Bundahishn* ii. 7); and the eighth *Yasht* is devoted to his praise. Besides *Tishtrya* there was also *Tir*, the genius of the planet Mercury, to whom, according to the *Bundahishn* (v. 1), *Tishtrya* was opposed.

In Armenian mythology also we find a *Tir* or *Tiur*, who has often been wrongly identified with *Tishtrya*, but who is, in reality, another divinity altogether. The Armen. *Tiur* (which Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier*, pp. 186-187, endeavours to derive from Armen. *diur*, 'writer,' 'scribe,' which would be a title of the Bab.-Assyr. Nabu, who was both the scribe of the gods and the planet Mercury [Orelli, *Allgem. Religionsgesch.*, Bonn, 1899, pp. 185-186]) is undoubtedly identical with *Tir*, whose name is so often used in such theophorous compounds as *Tiridates* and *Tiribazus* (cf. Nöldeke, *SWA IV*, phil.-hist. Classe, cxvi. 417-420; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 325 ff.), and who was widely known and honoured as an independent deity, being probably identified with the planet Mercury, although *Tir* is not found in Armenian with this meaning.

Both in Cappadocia and in Armenia the fourth month was consecrated to this *Tir*; and this was also true of the Parsi calendar, although, for theological reasons, the Parsis later made *Tir* the equivalent of *Tishtar* (cf. *Bundahishn* xxv. 3, with *Afringan* iii. 8).^{*} The Armenian *Tir* was famous as 'the interpreter of dreams,' as the tutelary deity of arts and learning, and as the scribe of Ormizd (Agathangelos, p. 584). Among the Armenians of modern times 'the writer' (very probably *Tir*) has much to do with human fate and death. 'The writer take him!' is a common imprecation.[†] *Tir* is, therefore, the Armenian Nabu, and there can be little doubt that the description given of him by Agathangelos whose Greek translator equates *Tir* with Apollo (Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 294), agrees, in the main, with the general belief among other Oriental nations about *Tir*.[‡] In fact, the planet Mercury also is known among the Persian poets as 'the writer' (Stackelberg). The expression 'Scribe of Ormizd' applied to *Tir* in Agathangelos has a Persian tinge, for the Armenians very seldom used the name Ormizd for their own Aramazd.

(6) *Mithra*.—Last, but by no means least, among the Zoroastrian *yazatas* is *Mithra*, the genius of the light of the heavens, and the god

^{*} The Zoroastrian calendar also devotes the thirteenth day of each month to *Tishtrya* (Avesta) or *Tir* (Pahlavi) (cf. *Siroza*, I. 13, II. 13; *Yasna* xvi. 4, with *Bundahishn* xxvii. 24). That *Tir* here refers primarily to the planet Mercury, and not to *Tishtrya* (Sirius), is confirmed by al-Biruni's statement, in his account of the *Tiragan*, celebrated on the day *Tir* of the month *Tir* (*Chronology*, pp. 205-206): 'The name of this day is *Tir* or Mercury, who is the star of the scribes.' The difficult problem of the replacing of *Tir* by his opponent *Tishtrya* (cf. Spiegel, *Avesta Uebersetzt*, Leipzig, 1852-1863, III. Intro. 21-22; Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*) is perhaps best explained by Justi, *op. cit.* p. 325: 'Da die Planeten später als feindliche Wesen galten ward *Tir* als Schutzgenius des 4. Monats und des 13. Monats tages durch den *Tisfrya* (seinen Gegner) ersetzt; im Alterthum galt *Tir* als guter Genius, wie die Eigennamen, deren ersten Theil sein Name bildet, beweisen.' The derivation of *Tir*, 'Mercury,' is uncertain.—[Louis H. Gray.]

[†] Cf. also Abeghlian on the Grolls, or the 'writers,' as spirits of disease (*op. cit.* pp. 122-123). The words *Tir* and *Ti* were also used as exclamations: 'Ti, forward!' Their relation to the deity's name, however, is not quite certain.

[‡] In Egypt this god had his parallel in Thot, the moon-god of Chemun (de la Saussaye, p. 207)

of truth and faithfulness, whose praises are especially celebrated in the tenth *yasht*. Derzana was the centre of Armenian Mithra-worship, and he also had a famous temple in the sacred village of Bagayarin (Agathangelos, p. 515), although we have no proof whatever that Mithraism had obtained any foothold in Armenia proper. Mihr, the Armenian Mithra, was specially called the son of Aramazd (Agathangelos, p. 593; cf. *Yasht* xvii. 16); but, owing to the strong worship of the sun and Vahagn among the Armenians, he does not seem to have become as prominent in Armenia as in Persia, his place seeming, indeed, to be usurped by Vahagn (see below). Nevertheless, his name occurs frequently as a component part of many proper names of persons, such as *Mihran*, *Mihrdat* (Mithridates), and *Mehruzan* (Hübischmann, *Armen. Grammatik*, i. 52-54), while the Armenian *mehean*, 'pagan temple, idol, altar,' has also been traced to the same source (cf. Hübischmann, *op. cit.* i. 194). The seventh month of the year and the eighth day of each month were his; and in the Zoroastrian calendar the seventh month and the sixteenth day were consecrated to him. We know nothing, however, of the functions or other duties of the Armenian Mithra.

(7) *Fravashis*.—Chief among the Zoroastrian *fravashis* (lower angels), is Verethraghna, the genius of victory, to whom the Avesta consecrates the fourteenth *yasht*. Like Mithra, he is of Indo-Iranian origin. In Pahlavi times his name was thinned down to *Bahrām*, often used by Persian kings, and in Armenian to *Vāhrām* and *Vram*. It is also very possible that Vrtānēs, the name of the second son of Gregory the Illuminator, reflects the Parthian form for *Verethraghna*. Since Lagarde, there has been a strong tendency to identify the Armenian Vahagn, probably the god of war and victory (Agathangelos, p. 106), with Verethraghna. According to Armenian phonetic laws, this is quite possible, although the termination *-agn* and the complete disappearance of both *r*'s constitute a difficulty. There was, moreover, a noble family called the *Vahevunis* (Elisæus, pp. 70, 127, 160, 173); while the list of the Armenian nobles in Mesrop's *Life of St. Nerses* gives *Vohevuni* (p. 33), but further below it adds the *Vahuni* (p. 34) as a different family. Moses of Chorene (i. 31, ii. 8, 12, 88) knows a priestly family of the name of *Vahmuni*, whom he makes descendants of Vahagn. Probably in all these cases Vahagn was the tutelary god, and the first syllable of his name was treated as independent.

Although in the ancient Armenian triad of Aramazd, Anahit, and Vahagn (Agathangelos, p. 106), Vahagn has the place of Mithra in the Old Persian triad (Art. Sus. a, 5; Ham. 6), he must be interpreted, despite the minor phonetic difficulties already mentioned, from the Avesta Verethraghna. Essentially a deity of victory, the latter fittingly declares: 'I will conquer the malignancies of all the malignant: the malignancies of demons and men, of wizards and witches, of oppressors, *kavis*, and *karaps*' (*Yasht*, xiv. 4), while the very form of his name recalls its Sanskrit equivalent *vrtrahan*, the Vedic epithet of Indra as the slayer of the cloud-demon Vṛtra. The reflexion of his career in the Avesta is seen in the statement that 'Vāhrām the victorious is the stimulator of the warlike' (*Shāyast-lā-Shāyast*, xxii. 20), although the Iranian texts preserve no tradition of his conquests over dragons in the strict sense of the term. On the other hand, in Hellenic times Vahagn was compared with Herakles, and called the dragon-killer (Agathangelos, p. 606), while the Greek Agathangelos translates *Vahagn* as Ἡρακλῆς, and, reversing the process, the Armen. version of 2 Mac 4¹³ renders Ἡρακλῆς by *Vahagn*. Ancient

Armenians told, moreover, of Vahagn's stealing straw from Barsham (the Syrian god Ba'al-Shemin, 'Lord of Heaven'), which he let drop on the way, thus forming the Milky Way (Anania Shiragaci, p. 48; cf. Abeghian, *Armenischer Volksglaube*, pp. 49-50). The Vahagn-song, the parallelism of Vahagn with Herakles, and his relations to Mithra and Barsham, tend to create the presumption that he was also a sun-god. The most famous temple of Vahagn was in Yashtishat in Taranu* (Faustus of Byzantium, iii. 14; Agathangelos, pp. 606-607), where he was also known as the lover of Astmik, the Syrian Aphrodite (Agathangelos, p. 607; Moses of Chorene, p. 88).

II. *INFERNAL HOSTS*.—1. *Ahriman*.—*Ahriman* (Armen. *Arhmn*) is never referred to in connexion with ancient Armenian paganism; but the absence of his name may be easily understood when we remember that, while Christian writers had a reason for arguing against the ancient deities, *Ahriman* (q.v.) and his retinue naturally coincided with Christian demonology. Other Zoroastrian evil spirits were known among the Armenians, however; and *Ahriman* could hardly fail to be known as their chief. Alishan (*Ancient Faith*, p. 210) suggests, with some plausibility, that he was known under the name of Çar, 'the evil one,' a word which is frequently found in that sense in Armen. theological writings and old popular spells. Besides *Arhmn*, the forms *Haraman*(i) and *Kharaman*(i) were also current in Armenia, *Haraman* being apparently the older (Arsacid) and *Arhmn* the younger (Sasanian) form (Hübischmann, *op. cit.* i. 26-27); so that the pagan Armenians possibly used *Haraman* to denote the *Ahriman* of their religion. *Haramani* is used as an epithet of snakes by Abraham of Zenag, a 5th cent. writer.

2. *Demons*.—Of the six Zoroastrian archdemons there is no mention. The *Asmodeus* of the Book of Tobit (3^d etc.) was transliterated by the Armenians as *Azmod*, which plainly shows that the name suggested nothing familiar to them.† The word *dev* (Avesta *dæva*), 'demon,' was current among the Armenians, although they had also native words like *ais*. The *deus* preferred stony places (Moses of Chorene, iii. 55) and ruins (Eznik, p. 98). They appeared as serpents (Faustus of Byzantium, v. 2) and in many other monstrous forms (Eznik, p. 98); some of them were corporeal, others incorporeal (*ib.* p. 97).

The *druzes* were lying, perjuring, harmful spirits, probably believed to be feminine, like their Avesta counterparts, the *drujes*. What the Avesta says in regard to their third mode of self-propagation—by the semen emitted in the *pollutio nocturna* (*Vendidad* xviii. 45-52)—seems to have been a current belief among the Armenians (Eznik, p. 178; Abeghian, *Armen. Volksglaube*, pp. 35-36). The *yātus*, 'sorcerers' of the Avesta, who were able even to slay men (*Vendidad* vii. 3), are well known and much feared among the modern Armenians as *jatuks*. The *pairikās* (Armen. *parik*), destructive female demons (cf. *Yasna* xvi. 8; *Yasht* viii. 54, xiii. 104; *Vendidad* i. 9, xi. 9), were also believed in, but Eznik (p. 97) classes them with such chimeras as the *yuskaripiks* and *hambarus* (see below).

3. *Monsters and chimeras*.—*Azdahak* (Avesta *Aži Dahāka*) and *Višap*, especially the latter, occupied a large place in ancient Armen. superstition; and Moses of Chorene (i. 30) states that

* This temple was called the 'eighth sanctuary' (Agathangelos, p. 606), possibly because Vahagn-worship, and specially this temple, rose to importance long after the seven main sanctuaries (Agathangelos, p. 34) had established themselves.

† It should be noted that the divergences between the Jewish *אֲשֶׁמֶדֶי* and the Avesta *aśma*, '(demon of) wrath,' are so grave that the usual view that the two are identical is not free from suspicion (cf. Ginzberg in *JF* ii. 212).—[Louis H. Gray.]

Azdahak is, in Armenian, the same as Višap. The latter word is, it should be noted, a loan-word from the Avesta *apaθ leγōmēvor višāpa*, 'whose saliva is poison,' used as an epithet of *āzi*, 'serpent,' in *Nīrangastān* 48. The story of the war between Azdahak of Media and Tigranes I. (i. 24-30) probably contains traces of an old dragon-legend. In a later chapter Moses states that Azdahak was fettered and imprisoned in Mount Dembavend by Hruden, escaping only to be recaptured and guarded by his conqueror in a cave of the same mountain; just as, in Zoroastrian legend, *āzi Dahāka*, after a reign of 1000 years, was enchained by Thraētaona (Armenian, Hruden; Pahlavi, Frētūn) under Dimāvand, whence he is to arise at the Last Day and be slain by Sāma Keresaspa (*Bundahishn* xxix. 9; *Dāfistān-i Dēng* xxxvii. 97; *Dinā-i Mānōg-i Khrat* xxii. 38-30; *Dinkart* vii. 1, 26). Moses likewise records that Azdahak was kissed on the shoulders, and that from this kiss sprang serpents, which were fed on human flesh.* Though the extant Avesta does not note this, *āzi Dahāka* there being 'three-mouthed and three-pated' (*Yasna* ix. 8), the *Dāfistān-i Dēng* (*loc. cit.*) alludes to it in describing Dahāk, 'on whom most powerful demons and fiends in the shape of serpents are winged.' The legend is further elaborated by Firdausi in the *Shāh-Nāmāh* (ed. Vullers-Landauer, 28, 99-30, 144; 35, 12-14), according to whom the kiss was bestowed by Iblis. The legend of *āzi Dahāka* was also treated at length in the twentieth section of the lost *Sūtgar Nask* of the Avesta (*Dinkart* ix. 21).

The *višaps* (Eznik, pp. 102-107) were corporeal beings which could appear both as men and as serpents, and could soar in the air by the help of oxen (?). They were fond of carrying the grain away from the threshing-floor, either by assuming the shape of mules and camels, or by real mules and camels of their own. In such cases, the Armenians called '*Kal! kal!*' 'Stop! stop' (Eznik, p. 103). They also sucked the milk from cows (Vahram Vartabed [13th cent.], quoted by Alishan, *Ancient Faith*, p. 172). The *višaps* went hunting on horseback; they had houses (Eznik, pp. 104, 107; cf. also *Yasht* xv. 19, and Darmesteter's note, *ad loc.*, on the palace of *āzi Dahāka*). They kept royal princes and heroes captive (Eznik, p. 104), among whom were Alexander the Great and Artavazd, king of Armenia (p. 105). They sometimes appeared enormous, and compelled men to worship them (p. 105). They entered into human beings; their breath was poisonous (p. 107). There was a whole colony of them at the foot of Masis (Moses of Chorene, i. 30), with whom Vahagn fought (*ib.* i. 31; Agathangelos, p. 607), and who later stole the child Artavazd and left a *dev* in his stead (Moses of Chorene, ii. 61; cf., further, on the *višap*, Abeghian, *op. cit.* pp. 78-83).

Closely connected with the *višaps* were the *nhangs* (Eznik, pp. 102-107)—a term borrowed from the Pers. *nīhang* 'alligator, crocodile.' They lived chiefly in the rivers (Eznik, p. 106). According to Eznik, both *višaps* and *nhangs* appeared in deceptive forms, but the former were 'personal' (spirit-like), while the latter were not so (p. 102), so that he specifically declares: 'There is no personal *nhang*' (pp. 103, 107). Although they could assume different forms, they had no body (p. 102). Preferably they appeared as women (mermaids?) in the water (p. 106); but at other times they became seals, and, catching the swimmer by the feet, dragged him to the bottom (*ib.*). An unpublished manuscript of the *Geography* ascribed to Moses of Chorene in like manner

reports the general belief that there were *nhangs* in the Araxani, a tributary of the Euphrates, as well as in the Euphrates itself. They used their victims for their lust, and then sucked their blood and left them dead. The Armen. translators use the word *nhang* for 'hippopotamus' and 'crocodile.'

The *tahapats*, or 'protectors' (cf. Avesta **šōiθ rapaiti*, 'protector of the homestead,' Skr. *kṣetrapati*, 'lord of a field'), are mentioned in Agathangelos as the protecting genii of graves (p. 56). They appeared in the shape of men or serpents, like the *višaps* (Eznik, p. 106), and kept the vineyards and olive trees, according to the ancient Armen. tr. of St. John Chrysostom on Isaiah.

Another class of fabulous monsters which seem to have a Persian origin is that of the *hambarus*. According to von Stackelberg, *hambaruna* in Persian means 'genius of houses,' but we know little as to how the *hambarus* were imagined. In the Armen. tr. of the LXX Is 34¹² the word is used to render *εἰσφρων* (Vulg. *draconum*). They were female beings, had a body, and were probably thought to live on land. 'They were born and they died,' says Eznik (p. 97), who mentions them along with *yūskapariks* and *pariks*. The *yūskapariks*, or 'asa-pariks' (cf. Pers. *yušk*, 'asa'), used to render *brokentrapous* in LXX Is 13²² 34¹¹⁻¹⁴, lived chiefly in ruined places (Eznik, pp. 97-98), while the *pariks*, to whom allusion has been made above, were seductive female demons, living not only in the water, but also in forests and meadows, as well as on the banks of streams. They are, primarily, water-deities, and correspond closely to the European mermaids, whom they also resemble in their frequent intrigues with mortal lovers. This erotic trait is an evident reminiscence in Armenia of the seductive *pairikās* of Zoroastrianism (see above; cf. also Abeghian, *op. cit.* pp. 103-104). Eznik (p. 99) likewise mentions the *covaçuls*, or 'sea-bulls,' which lived in lakes, propagating through kine, they themselves being born of cows. He also alludes to *pays*, which were born of men (pp. 98-99), and must doubtless be distinguished from the *pariks*. All these beings, as well as the *arīēs*, were held to be generally invisible, though occasionally they were seen of men (Eznik, p. 99). There are, moreover, other classes of demons in Armenian faith, such as the *yaveraharsunks*, *kajiks* (husbands of the *pariks*), *mardagails* ('werewolves'), *als* (corresponding roughly to Lilith), the 'evil eye,' and disease-demons of various sorts (cf. Abeghian, *op. cit.* pp. 102-110, 116-127). Another clear survival of Armen. Zoroastrianism is the horror felt towards snakes, frogs, and ants (Abeghian, *op. cit.* pp. 30-31; cf. *Vendidad* xiv. 5, and Darmesteter's note, *ad loc.*; Herodotus, i. 140), while the cat is an uncanny object, as in Parsi belief (Darmesteter, *loc. cit.*; *SBE* xviii. 419, where a demoniac father is attributed to it).*

III. DEATH AND THE FUTURE LIFE.—The abode of evil spirits and of the wicked dead was called *Dzōkhk'* (Pers. *Dūzakh*), and perhaps also *Sandaramet* (see above). We have absolutely no description of the Armen. Hades or Paradise; and the Avesta *garō-nmāna*, 'house of song, paradise,' appears in Armenian in the loan-word *gerezman*, 'grave.' After death, the soul lingered around the body until the corpse was buried, after which it remained in the vicinity of the grave or of its former dwelling for a year, though in later Armenian belief it passes to the future world within a day after burial (Abeghian, *op. cit.* p. 13). On its way, as in Iranian eschatology, the soul had to

* Faustus of Byzantium also (v. 22) tells a similar legend of King Pap.

* On the other hand, the Armenians lack the extreme veneration for the dog which is so characteristic of the Avesta (cf. *Vendidad* xiii, xv. 6-8, 19-61; *Dinkart* viii. 28), so that *sun*, 'dog,' is also used in the sense of 'adulterer.'

cross a hair-bridge; if righteous, it reached the opposite shore in safety; if sinful, it dropped down into the stream of hell-fire. There was a middle place for those that were neither good nor bad (Abeghian, p. 20).*

We find absolutely no trace, however, of *dakhmas*, or 'towers of silence,' or of the custom of exposing bodies. On the contrary, there were great mausoleums for kings in the ancient city of Ani, and graveyards outside the cities. We also know that the Achæmenian kings did not obey the Avesta injunction concerning the exposure of dead bodies; while, according to Herodotus (i. 140), the Persians covered the corpse with wax and then buried it.

The Armenian burial-customs seem to have been more akin to the ancient Babylonian (Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*, p. 10 ff.). The friends and relatives of the deceased came to the ceremony of wailing (Faustus of Byzantium, iv. 16); and at the funerals of the rich, professional mourners were employed (Moses of Chorene, ii. 60), led by the 'mother of the dirge,' who sang the story of the life and death of the deceased, while the nearest relatives tore their garments, plucked their hair and screamed (Faustus of Byzantium, *loc. cit.*). They out their arms (?) and faces (*ib.* v. 31). During the funeral they had music, produced by horns, violins, and harps. Men and women danced facing each other, and clapped their hands (*ib.*). Johannes Carnei (quoted by Alishan, *op. cit.* p. 413) says: 'Forbid wailing (over the dead) . . . cutting of the hair, and (other) evil things.' When the deceased was a king or a great personage, servants and slaves committed suicide over his grave (Moses of Chorene, ii. 60). Ancient gravestones are found in the shape of horses and lambs, perhaps symbolic of sacrifices for the dead. The modern custom of distributing bread and raisins and strong drink after the burial, moreover, is probably a survival of an ancient sacrificial meal (cf. Abeghian, *op. cit.* pp. 20-23). To this day it is quite customary to make two holes on the gravestones.

Death was a decree of fate (Eznik, p. 153), inevitable (p. 161), and foreordained (p. 162). In fact, the whole life of man was thought to be led by Fate (Ohan Mantaguni, quoted by Alishan, *op. cit.* p. 411). Later Armenians also spoke of Hogêar, the 'soul-taking' angel, who is frequently identified with Gabriel (Abeghian, *op. cit.* p. 17).

There is little to be said about the eschatology of the Armenians, although they certainly believed in resurrection and immortality.

There is an ancient Armenian legend about the end of the world. Artavazd, son of king Artashes, seeing that many people committed suicide over his father's grave, said, 'Thou didst depart, and tookest with thee the whole country. Shall I rule over ruins?' Thereupon his father cursed him, saying:

'When thou goest a-hunting
up the venerable Masia,

May the K'ajk's seize thee and
take thee up the venerable Masia!

There mayest thou remain and see no light!

Artavazd is said to have perished, while on a hunting party, by falling with his horse from a high precipice. One Armenian legend says that he is chained in a cave of Masia, and two dogs, gnawing at his chains, try to set him free in order that he may bring the world to an end. The chains become very thin about the season of Navasard (New Year's festivities in August). Therefore, on those days the blacksmiths used to strike a few blows with their hammers on their anvils in order to strengthen Artavazd's chains and save the world, a custom which was continued even into Christian times (Moses of Chorene, ii. 61; Eznik, p. 105). This legend seems to have some affinity with that of Burasp Aïdahak, which Moses of Chorene gives at the end of the first book of his *History of Armenia* (see above).

* The belief that the soul remains on earth for a year seems to be Muhammadan (Wolff, *Muhammed. Eschatol.*, Leipzig, 1872, pp. 78-79; cf. Bühlung, *Beiträge zur Eschatol. des Islam*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 43); while the Iranians held that it journeyed to the place of first judgment at dawn of the fourth day after death (*Yasht* xii. 7, 25; *Dāstān-i-Dēnig* xx. 2-3; *Dīn-i-Mānīg-i-Khrat* ii. 114-115, 161; *Art-i-Virāf* iv. 9-16). The bridge in Armenian belief is obviously the *Šinval-bridge* of the Avesta—which is fully described in *Dāstān-i-Dēnig*, xxi. 3-7, and which occurs not only in Iran but in India, medieval Europe, and elsewhere (Scherman, *Materialien zur Gesch. der ind. Visionsliteratur*, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 102-110, 117-119; Becker, *Contribut. to Compar. Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Baltimore, 1899, pp. 18, 44, 76, 83, 90, 97), as well as in Muhammadanism (Bühlung, *op. cit.* pp. 62-63). The 'middle place,' moreover, finds its Iranian source in *Hamstāgān*, 'ever-stationary' (*Art-i-Virāf* vi.; *Shayast-lā-Shayast* vi. 2; *Dīn-i-Mānīg-i-Khrat* vi. 13-10, xli. 14; *Dāstān-i-Dēnig*, xxiv. 8, xxviii. 2), where dwell the souls of those whose good and evil deeds exactly balance each other.

IV. WORSHIP AND CEREMONIAL.—There were

probably temple-books which Christianity systematically destroyed. The temples were numerous, both in the country and in the cities; and there were also special temple-towns, such as Bagavan and Yashtishat, containing several important sanctuaries. Christian churches and monasteries succeeded both to the wealth and to the veneration belonging to the ancient sacred sites. Of ancient open-air worship we hear nothing, but there were sacred places on mountain tops, like the throne of Nahata (Faustus of Byzantium, v. 25). Besides the ordinary temples, the Armenians boasted, like other neighbouring and distant nations, seven main sanctuaries (Agathangelos, p. 34), which were often the scenes of great concourses of people gathered there for worship and religious festivities. Treasure-houses were connected with the great sanctuaries (*ib.* pp. 586, 591, 594; Moses of Chorene, ii. 48; Thoma Artseruni, i. 7), as they now are associated with the churches. Tiridates and Gregory plundered many of these on behalf of the poor and of the Church, during their campaign against the pagan sanctuaries of Armenia; and images and statues of deities were common, at least in later pagan times (Agathangelos, *loc. cit.*; Moses of Chorene, ii. 14).

Agathangelos (p. 34) describes the sacrifices of Chosroës after his return from victorious incursions.

'He commanded to seek the seven great altars of Armenia, and he honoured the sanctuaries of his ancestors, the Arasida, with white bullocks, white rams, white horses and mules, with gold and silver ornaments and gold embroidered and fringed silken coverings, with golden wreaths, silver sacrificial basins, desirable vases set with precious stones, splendid garments, and beautiful ornaments. Also he gave a fifth of his booty and great presents to the priests.*'

In Bayazid (the ancient Bagravand) an old Armenian relief was found with an altar upon which a strange animal stands, and on each side a man clothed in a long tunic. One is beardless, and carries a heavy club. The other has a beard. Their head-gears, Phrygian in character, differ in details. Both of them raise their hands in the attitude of worship (Alishan, *op. cit.* p. 161).

The prevalent word for a pagan priest in Armenian, *k'urm*, is a loan word from the Syriac *kūmrā*, 'priest,' although *mog*, 'magian,' may also have been used. The place of sacrifice was perhaps called *spandaran* (connected with Avesta *spenta*, 'holy'), a word which is now current only in the sense of 'slaughter-house.' This makes it possible that originally slaughtering had a sacrificial character. Christianity did away with all impure rites and human sacrifices which were of a local character, but animal sacrifices survived the fall of paganism (Conybeare in *JTh* vii., 1903, p. 63).

In many of the sanctuaries, which, like the modern monasteries, were also places of religious hospitality, particularly in the country, sacrifices were distributed to strangers (Moses of Chorene, ii. 66). Besides animals, flower-wreaths and green twigs (the *barsom* of the Avesta?) were offered (Agathangelos, p. 49), and probably also fruit and money.

The priesthood must have been hereditary in a well-organized caste. There was a high priest, sometimes of royal blood (Moses of Chorene, ii. 53, 55), and the *Vahunis* are mentioned as a priestly family by Moses of Chorene (ii. 8), while another priestly family was perhaps that of the *Spanduns*. The priests were probably very numerous in temple-towns, and they certainly possessed great wealth and extensive lands and villages, which were later confiscated for the benefit of the Christian Church (Agathangelos, pp. 586 ff., 590, 594, 610). Of native Armenian magi as a caste

* Sacrifices were occasions of great rejoicing, and it would seem that not only the flesh of the animals, but also their blood, was consumed (Agathangelos, pp. 73-74; Faustus of Byzantium, iv. 4).

we have no record, although we read of magians (Moses of Chorene, ii. 48). The existence of priestesses in ancient Armenia is not absolutely certain, although we have the old compound *krmanush* meaning 'priestess.'

A critical study of the Armenian Church calendar and ceremonies would probably reveal much that could be referred to the pre-Christian ritual. During Lent, for example, the morning service is opened with an abjuration of the devil and all his works—an elaborate formula, which is recited while the whole congregation turn their backs to the altar and look towards the west, with arms hanging rigidly at the sides. Although the abjuration is usual in the baptism of all ritualistic churches, this particular form may well have been derived from the ancient cult of the country. Evidently the Armenians considered the west as the abode of the devils, for Eznik says in his aphorisms (p. 313): 'Honey is sweet, but it harms a diseased body. Good counsel and rebuke are useful, but they do not benefit those who have set their faces westward.'

The old Armenian calendar also bears traces of ancient Persian influence. *Trē* ('Tir'), *Mehkan* (Mithra), *Ahekan* (Atarš), and *Hrotiq* (Pahlavi *Fravartigān*) are common also to the Persian year (cf. art. CALENDAR [Persian]). The other months of the ancient Armenian calendar have names of Armenian and perhaps also two of Caucasic (Georgian) origin (Hagopian, 'Armenian Months,' in *Bansser*, 1900; Gray, 'On certain Persian and Armenian Month-Names as influenced by the Avestan Calendar,' in *JAOS* xxviii.). The names of the days of the month, as given by Shah Tchirped (Alishan, *op. cit.* p. 143), have but few points of contact with the Zoroastrian (*Yasna* xvi. 3-6; *Sūrōza* i.-ii.; *Bundahishn* xxvii. 24; *Shāyast-lā-Shāyast* xxii.-xxiii.; al-Birūnī, *Chronology*, p. 53).

The Armenians shared with the Persians some of the characteristic superstitions and usages of the Avesta. One of them is the evil eye (*Vendidad* xx. 3, 7, xxii. 2; *Bundahishn* xxviii. 33, 36). In Moses of Chorene, ii. 47, we read that king Ervand had so powerful an evil eye that he could break stones asunder by looking fixedly at them. The general belief is that people upon whom the evil eye is cast pine away without knowing the cause of their ailment, and nothing is safe from it. There are special prayers and ceremonies to break the spell of the evil eye (Alishan, *op. cit.* p. 385; Abeghian, *op. cit.* pp. 123-127). The modern Armenians have the same abhorrence for parings of nails and hair as the Avesta (cf. *Vendidad*, xvii.); nor may fire and water be defiled (Abeghian, *op. cit.* pp. 57-58, 66). These superstitions of the later Armenians, like many other beliefs noted above, were probably imported in ancient times. Among the greatest requirements of the Avesta we find next-of-kin marriages (cf. Justi in *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. 434-437; Jackson, *ib.* 682, and the references there given). The only well-known instance of this in Armenia is the marriage of Tigranes III. with his sister Erato, a few years before the Christian era, although it seems to have been frequent among the nobles (Moses of Chorene, iii. 20; Faustus of Byzantium, iv. 4).

V. CONCLUSIONS.—Our study suggests the following reflexions:—(1) Great as is the mass of Zoroastrian material in Armenian paganism, it has also serious gaps. Was it ever complete? (2) We find the existing material in a quite uncertain shape. The substantial deviations from Zoroastrianism are considerable, as in the case of Anahit and in the worship of fire and water. The Zoroastrian angels are full-fledged deities in Armenian paganism; but primitive traits are not lacking, as in the case of Spenta Armaiti. (3) There is no trace of a highly developed system of theology, ritual and legalistic observance, as in Zoroastrianism. Abstract beings, the personifi-

* In the Avesta the north is the dwelling-place of evil spirits (*Vendidad* vii. 2, xix. 1; *Artā-i-Viraf* xvii. 11).

cations of ideas, virtues, and vices, are quite absent. We find no theological systematization of the heavenly army, no developed dualism, no caste of magi, and no widely spread fire-altars. (4) There is no record of any Zoroastrian propaganda in Armenia, or of any religious fellowship between Persia and Armenia. When the Sasanians persecuted Christian Armenia, about A.D. 450, they said nothing about a return to the ancient faith, nor did the Armenians ever call their paganism Zoroastrian. (5) It is probable that Zoroastrianism gradually penetrated Armenia under the Achaemenian kings and under the Arsacids, but we have no exact knowledge as to when or how. (6) The study here presented must not be regarded as a complete picture of Armenian paganism. Both the pantheon and the world of minor spirits contained other non-Zoroastrian names and beliefs which have been omitted; but the old religion of Armenia was mainly Iranian, and may be described as Zoroastrianism of a corrupt type.

It is probable that the ancient Armenians themselves conceived their pantheon as containing the following deities: Aramazd, as chief god; Anahit, as chief and favourite goddess; Vahagn, as the national god of war and heroism; the sun and the moon; Mihr; and Tir as the god of human destiny, whose relation to learning and eloquence has a Greek flavour. Deities of a lower magnitude of importance disappeared more easily from the popular memory. Along with these Persian deities, there were also an Elamitic goddess Nanā (the Babylonian Nanā, cf. also the 'Persian' goddess Nanna of 2 Mac 11³), the Syrian Astāik (Venus), and the Syrian Barsham (Ba'al-Shemin). These three must have migrated into Armenia (during post-Alexandrian times, perhaps *Doppelgänger* of some of the native deities, though whether they formed a group, Barsham-Astāik-Nanā, corresponding to Aramazd-Anahit-Vahagn, as Jensen (*Hittiter und Armenier*, p. 181 ff.) suggests, is a less plausible hypothesis. At all events they soon asserted themselves as independent and separate deities, so that Astāik could become the paramour of Vahagn and have a temple in the sacred town of Yashtishat, where Anahit also had a sanctuary. After Alexander, and especially in Roman times, the Armenians came under strongly Hellenistic influences, and began to seek parallels between the Greek and their own deities. It would also seem that during this period the worship of the sun and the moon became somewhat neglected. Otherwise, we cannot understand why Agathangelos makes so little of them. The ancient Armenians were also very much given to divination and witchcraft (Moses of Chorene, i. 20, ii. 66; Ohan Mantaguni, *op. cit.* xxvi.; Alishan, *op. cit.* pp. 360-409).

LITERATURE.—Windischmann, 'Die persische Anāhita oder Anahit' in *Abhandlungen der könig. bayr. Akad. der Wissensch.* I. Cl. viii. pt. 1, Munich, 1856; Emlin, 'Recherche sur le paganisme arménien' in *Revue de l'Orient*, N.S. v. 18; Lagarde, *Armen. Studien*, Göttingen, 1877, and *Purim*, Göttingen, 1887; Johannissian, *Armen. Bibliothek* iv., 'Märchen und Sagen', Leipzig, 1887; Sarkissian, *Agathangelos and his many-centuried mystery* (Arm.), Venice, 1892; Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer*, Leipzig, 1893; von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, iii., Leipzig, 1892; Tchérax, 'Notes sur la mythol. armén.' in *Transact. of the 9th Internat. Congress of Orientalists*, ii., London, 1893; Nazarethlian, 'Armenians and Armenian Mythology' in *Bazmavep* (Arm.), 1893-94; Karakashian, *Crit. Hist. of Armenia* (Arm.), pt. i. ch. 8, Tiflis, 1895; Balassanian, *Hist. of Armenia* (Arm.), Tiflis, 1896, p. 74 ff.; Cumont, *Textes et mon. figurés relat. aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1895-99, and *Die Mysterien des Mithra*, Leipzig, 1903; Gelzer, 'Zur armen. Götterlehre' in *Berichte der könig. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Classe, 1896, pp. 99-148; Alishan, *Ancient Faith of the Armenians* (Arm.), Venice, 1896; St. Clair-Tisdall, *Conversion of Armenia to the Christian Faith*, Oxford, 1897, p. 43 ff.; Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.* i., Leipzig, 1897; Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 177 ff.; Abeghian, *Armen. Volksklänge*, Leipzig, 1899; Carrière, *Les huit sanctuaires de l'Arménie payenne*, Paris, 1899; Stackelberg, 'Iranian Influence on the Religious Beliefs of the Ancient Armenians' in *Report of Imperial Archaeol. Soc. of Moscow, Oriental Comm.* ii. pt. 2 (Russian), Moscow, 1901; Daghabarian, 'Ancient Religions of the Armenians' in *Bansser* (Arm.), 1903; Weber, *Die kathol. Kirche in Armenien*, Freiburg, 1903, p. 25 ff.; Hommel, *Grundriss der Geog. und Gesch. des alten Orients*, i., Munich, 1904; Geiger-Kuhn, *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii., Strassburg, 1904; Arakélian, 'La Relig. anc. des Arméniens' in *Verhandl. des zweiten internat. Kongresses für allgem. Religionsgesch.*, Basel, 1906, pp. 291-292; also numerous articles in *Handb. Armenica*, Vienna, 1887 ff., and in Pauly-Wissowa.

M. H. ANANIKIAN.

ARMENIA (Christian).—I. THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY.—The national legends and traditions of Armenia are rich in information regarding the introduction of Christianity into the country.

In particular, it is said to have been preached by Apostles or disciples of Apostles, such as St. Bartholomew and St. Thaddæus. But it has been proved that these legends did not appear till late in the literature of Armenia, and that they were borrowed largely from the literature of Greece. Christianity certainly penetrated to Armenia, as elsewhere, by means of the living voice. The Apostles and their successors had early formed the habit of visiting the Churches founded by them; and the teaching of the gospel was continued and propagated in the Christian communities long before written documents came into use; but the names of these first preachers have not come down to us with any certainty. Yet, however meagre the information furnished by history may be, we are quite entitled to maintain that Christianity reached Armenia through Antioch, before the time of Gregory the Illuminator. The first Christian documents that the Armenians made use of were written in Syriac, and this language was used in the Armenian liturgy till the reform of Gregory the Illuminator. After Antioch we might mention Edessa and Nisibis as centres from which Christianity spread into the different provinces of the kingdom of Armenia.

LITERATURE.—The works, in Armenian and in translation, of Armenian writers: Koriun, *Eliseus the Teacher* (*Vartabed*), Eznik, Agathangelos, Lazarus of Pharphe, Sebeos, Zenobius of Klag, Faustus of Byzantium, Moses of Chorena. A. Lipsius, *Die apokr. Apostelgesch. und Apostellegenden* (Brunswick, 1883-1890); A. Carrière, *La Légende d'Abgar dans l'histoire d'Arménie de Moïse de Khoren* (Paris, 1895); H. Gelzer, 'Die Anfänge der armen. Kirche' in *Berichte der königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Classe (1895); Petit, * fasc. vii. col. 1892-1893.

II. EXTENSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN ARMENIA.

—St. Gregory the Illuminator. —Gregory the Illuminator belonged to the royal race of the Arsacids. When quite young he escaped the massacre of his family (A.D. 238), and took refuge in Roman territory. He studied at Cæsarea, and returned to Armenia when the kingdom was re-established under Tiridates II. (A.D. 261). After being persecuted for his faith, he attained to honour, and baptized the king and a large number of his subjects. He went again to Cæsarea, where he was consecrated bishop by Bishop Leontius, thus forming the link of spiritual connexion between the Cappadocian metropolis and the young Armenian Churches. When he was made bishop, Gregory fixed his residence at Yashtishat, and had a church and an episcopal palace built there. He substituted Armenian for Greek as the language of the liturgy, in order to have easier access to the masses of the people, and created twelve episcopal sees, at the head of which he placed, as titulars, converted pagan priests. He instituted ecclesiastical offices, making them hereditary in the sacerdotal families, and he created in his own family the supreme office of *Catholicos*. At first this title designated only the principal bishop of the country; later it came to mean an independent patriarch. The Gregorian and national Armenian Church, founded afterwards, lived its own autonomous life, while recognizing for some years a sort of supremacy in the mother Church of Cæsarea.

LITERATURE.—Mgr. Ormanian, *Le Vatican et les Arméniens* (Rome, 1873); von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1892); H. Gelzer, 'Die Anfänge der armen. Kirche' in *Berichte der königl. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Classe (1895); Petit, * fasc. vii. col. 1893; S. Weber, *Die katholische Kirche in Armenien* (Freiburg, 1903); Malan, *Life and Times of St. Gregory* (Eng. tr. 1868).

III. THE GREGORIAN ARMENIAN CHURCH.—

1. Doctrine.—The creed of the Armenian Church is identical with the pseudo-Athanasian Creed which was introduced into Armenia by the Syrians, and

in the 6th cent. took the place of the Nicene Creed. In the 14th cent. another creed was much in use in the Armenian Church. It was a compilation of formulas borrowed from various creeds, and was current until the middle of the 19th century. The religious heads of the Armenian Church several times formulated *professions of faith* intended to complete, explain, and fix the meaning of the Armenian Creed. We must mention the profession of faith addressed in 1166 by Nerses Shnorhali to Manuel Comnenus; that presented to pope Pius IV. by Abgar, the Ambassador of the Catholicos Michael of Etchmiadzin (1582-1593); that of the Catholicos Azarias of Sis (1585); that addressed in 1671 by David, the Armenian archbishop of Isfahan, to Louis XIV.; those addressed to the same king by Stephen and James, the Armenian archbishops at Constantinople (1671), and by Gaspar, the Armenian bishop of Cairo. On the other hand, the Roman Curia imposed on the Armenian Church two professions of faith: (1) the constitution of Eugenius IV., *Exultate Deo*; (2) the creed of Urban VIII., intended for all the Christians of the East.

LITERATURE.—Le chevalier Ricaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, A.D. 1678 (London, 1679); E. Dulaurier, *Histoire, dogmes, traditions et liturgie de l'Eglise armén. orientale* (Paris, 1857); A. Balguy, *Historia doctrinae catholicae inter Armenos* (Vienna, 1878); Arşak Ter-Mikaelian, *Die armen. Kirche* (Leipzig, 1892); J. Catergian, *De fidei symbolo, quo Armeni utuntur observationes* (Vienna, 1893); F. Kattenbusch, *Das apost. Symbol* (Leipzig, 1894); Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche* (Breslau, 1897); Macler, Nos. 141, 145.

The following are the chief points of doctrine on which the creed of the Armenian Church differs from that of other Christian communities. As regards the Procession of the Holy Spirit, after much hesitation and even much indifference, the Gregorian Armenians profess that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and reject the *Filioque*. The Armenians reject the decisions of the Chalcedon Council relative to the Incarnation; they call themselves Monophysites, admitting only one nature in Christ. The Gregorians, in reciting the *Trisagion*, retain the addition *qui crucifixus es pro nobis*, while some Catholic Armenians have rejected it. The Gregorians deny *purgatory*, but they pray for the dead like the Catholics, consecrating to this devotion the day after Epiphany, Easter, the Transfiguration, the Assumption, the Exaltation of the Cross, and the day of the holy Vardanians.

There is diversity of opinion among the Armenian doctors regarding the primacy of the Pope. The patriarchs, being equal in power, are *co-ordinate* the one with the other, and not *subordinate* to a superior patriarch. The Churches were founded by the Apostles and their disciples. These were sent by Jesus Christ, not by Peter; thus nothing enjoins the primacy of the Pope as a fundamental dogma of the Christian Church. The Armenians *baptize* by immersion, repeated at the name of each of the Divine Persons; hence a triple immersion. The anointing is with holy oil, and the person baptized receives the name of the saint whose festival is celebrated on the day of the baptism. Only the priest can baptize, and baptism may be administered even to a child already dead. *Confirmation* follows very soon after baptism. The anointing is done on the forehead, the eyes, the nostrils, the ears, the mouth, the shoulders, the breast, the hands, and the feet. Each anointing is accompanied by a special formula. The Armenians make use of unleavened bread and of wine unmixed with water as elements for the Eucharist. They make confession principally on the occasion of the great festivals, preferably at Epiphany or at Easter. They admit in theory the sacrament of *Extreme Unction*, but they never

* In this art. the foll. abbrev. are used:—Petit=L. Petit, 'Arménie' in *Dict. de théol. catholique* (Paris, 1902); Macler=F. Macler, *Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens et géorgiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1908).

administer it. The Gregorians have a hierarchy of orders very carefully organized, including the office of precentor and reader; then the inferior orders of porter, reader, exorcist, and candle-lighter; and the superior orders of sub-deacon, deacon, and priest. The consecration of bishops is reserved for the Catholics. Marriage is permitted to the inferior clergy, rigorous celibacy being enjoined only on the vartabeds and the bishops. Women are not excluded from the functions of the deacon. In Anatolia the Catholic Armenian priests are generally married; elsewhere they observe more freely the law of celibacy, which is not obligatory on them. When a priest has to say Mass, he passes the preceding night in the church. When a priest who is already married has to receive ordination, he spends forty days in the church; then there is a social repast, during which the wife of the priest sits on a stool, and keeps her mouth, her eyes, and her ears shut, as a sign of the reserve which she exercises with regard to the functions of her husband.

LITERATURE.—Galano, *Concilio Ecclésiæ Armenæ cum Romana* (Rome, 1800); de Moni, *Histoire critique de la créance et des coutumes des nations du Levant* (Frankfort, 1803); G. Avedichian, *Dissertazione sopra la processione dello Spirito Santo dal Padre e dal Figliuolo* (Venice, 1824); and *Sulle correzioni fatte ai libri ecclesiastici armeni nell'anno 1677* (Venice, 1838); J. B. Asgjan, 'La chiesa armena e l'Entichianismo' in *Bessarione*, vi.; J. Issaverdents, *Hist. of the Armenian Church* (Venice, 1876); F. C. Conybeare, 'The Armenian Canons of St. Sahak, Catholics of Armenia' in *AJTh*, vol. ii. (1898), p. 828; Karapet Ter-Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer im byzantinischen Kaiserreiche* (Leipzig, 1893); Hefele, *Hist. of the Church Councils* (Eng. tr., Edin., 5 vols., 1898); E. Dulaurier, *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne* (Paris, 1850); *Historiens arméniens des Croisades* (Paris, 1860), t. I.; *Domini Joannis Ozniensis opera*, ed. . . . Aucher (Venice, 1834); E. Azarian, *Ecclésiæ armenæ traditio de romanis pontificis primatu, jurisdictione et mirabili magisterio* (Rome, 1870); A. Balgy, *Historia doctrinæ catholicæ inter Armenos unionisque eorum cum Ecclesiâ romana in concilio Florentino* (Vienna, 1878); J. Issaverdents, *Rites et cérémonies de l'église arménienne* (Venice, 1878); Petit, fasc. vii. col. 1050-1058.

2. Councils.—Besides the councils common to Christianity, the Armenian Church has national councils, of which the following are the most important. Setting aside the traditional accounts relative to the first councils, the authenticity of which is more than doubtful, we must mention the Council of Yashtishat (c. 365 A.D.), held under Nerses the Great. Regulations were laid down regarding the laws of marriage, fasting, hospitals, and the schools where the young were taught Greek and Syriac. The laws for the monastic orders were there determined. Later, Sahak is said to have promulgated in A.D. 426, at a Council of Valarshapat, a certain number of rules intended to regulate the observance of festivals, funeral feasts, and the conduct of the clergy and priests. The canons of the Council of Shahapivan (A.D. 447) have for their special aim the refutation of the heresies which invaded Armenian Christianity and threatened to extinguish it. This was also the aim of the Council of Yashtishat (A.D. 449). At the Council of Valarshapat (A.D. 491) the Armenians made common cause with the Georgians and the Albanians in condemning the Council of Chalcedon; and this decision was maintained and affirmed still more definitely at the Council of Tvin (A.D. 525), where the two festivals of Christmas and Epiphany were fixed for the 6th of January. In A.D. 596 another Council of Tvin condemned the Chalcedon decrees. At the Council of Karin (c. 633 A.D.), Heraclius summoned the Greeks and Armenians, and had the union between these two nations proclaimed; the festivals of Christmas and Epiphany were fixed for different days, and the formula *qui crucifixus es pro nobis* was removed from the Trisagion. Another Council of Tvin (A.D. 645), condemned once more the Council of Chalcedon. John of Odzun, who is said to have summoned the Council of Manazkert about A.D. 719, gathered into a volume the canons of the Fathers and of the councils previous to the 8th century. About A.D. 770 the Synod of Partav fixed the books of the Old Testament which the Armenians regarded as authentic, and made rules relating to certain details of ecclesiastical discipline. At the Council of Shirakavan, held in A.D. 862, the Armenians

accepted the decrees of the Chalcedon Council, anathematized the Councils of Manazkert, settled the articles of their faith in fifteen canons, and made peace with the Greeks. In the reign of Manuel Comnenus, several attempts were made to bring about a union between the Greeks and the Armenians. They resulted in the Council of Rom-Kla (A.D. 1179), at which Nerses of Lambron delivered a discourse on conciliation which is still famous. At the Council of Tarsus (A.D. 1196), Nerses of Lambron delivered another discourse with a view to the union. The Council of Sis (A.D. 1243) laid down rules regarding the election and nomination of priests, bishops, etc.; the Councils of A.D. 1307 and 1316 ratified the preceding ones, and furnish a complete profession of faith of the Armenian Church at this time. In A.D. 1439 the Armenians took part in the Council of Florence.

Along with these principal councils there were a number of special councils and synods, for the decrees of which we refer our readers to the works which deal specially with them.

LITERATURE.—CL Galano, *Concilio armenico cum Romana* (Rome, 1800); H. Gelzer in *Berichte d. kgl. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.* (Leipzig, 1895); J. B. Asgjan, 'La Chiesa armena e l'Arianismo' in *Bessarione*, vi.; J. Issaverdents, *Hist. of the Armenian Church* (Venice, 1876); F. C. Conybeare, 'The Armenian Canons of St. Sahak, Catholics of Armenia' in *AJTh*, vol. ii. (1898), p. 828; Karapet Ter-Mkrttschian, *Die Paulikianer im byzantinischen Kaiserreiche* (Leipzig, 1893); Hefele, *Hist. of the Church Councils* (Eng. tr., Edin., 5 vols., 1898); E. Dulaurier, *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne* (Paris, 1850); *Historiens arméniens des Croisades* (Paris, 1860), t. I.; *Domini Joannis Ozniensis opera*, ed. . . . Aucher (Venice, 1834); E. Azarian, *Ecclésiæ armenæ traditio de romanis pontificis primatu, jurisdictione et mirabili magisterio* (Rome, 1870); Mgr. Ormanian, *Le Vatican et les Arméniens* (Rome, 1873); P. Hunanian, *Hist. of the Ecumenical Councils of the East* (in Armenian) (Vienna, 1847); Mgr. Abel Mikitarantz, *Hist. of the Councils of the Armenian Church* (in Armenian) (Valarshapat, 1874); the works, in Armenian and in translation, of Koriun, Agathangelos, Elisavus, Eznik, Sebeos, Moses of Chorene; Petit, fasc. vii. col. 1025-1033; J. Dashiian, *Catalog der armen. Handschriften . . . zu Wien* (Vienna, 1895); Macler, s.vv. 'Conciles,' 'Canons,' and the names of places where the councils were held.

3. Festivals.—The Armenian Church celebrates five principal festivals: Christmas, Easter, Transfiguration, Assumption, and Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The day before these festivals is devoted to the Church, the day after to the commemoration of the dead.

The day before Christmas the poor boys of a village or town go from door to door, or from terrace to terrace, holding in their hands lanterns made from gourds, sing a Christmas carol, and receive fruit and cakes as a reward.

The festival of the Transfiguration (*Vardavar*) is called the Festival of Roses, after an old heathen festival which was celebrated on the same day. On the day preceding this festival, the commemoration of the Tabernacle of the Jews is held. On that day people sprinkle each other with water when they meet in the streets; and in certain provinces of Armenia pigeons are set free, either in recollection of the Deluge, or as a symbol of Astlik, the Armenian Venus.

On the day before the Assumption, the vision of Gregory the Illuminator is commemorated.

According to the canons of the Armenian Church, the priests are allowed to receive as offerings the skin and the right shoulder of the animals sacrificed in the churches on the days of the great festivals, in commemoration of the souls of the dead, or in honour of some great saint.

Other festivals play an important part in the religious life of Armenia. The day before *Candlemas* (Presentation in the Temple), fires are lit in the courts of the churches, and the people dance round them, jump over them, and so on.

The festival of *Vicak* (Fate) is one of the principal Armenian festivals, and one of those which seem to be relics of pagan times. It begins on the day before Ascension Thursday, and lasts till the

Sunday of Pentecost. The day before Ascension the young girls of the village meet together and choose several of their number to organize the festival. The members of this committee take a pitcher made of baked clay, fill it with water drawn from seven fountains or seven wells, and close the mouth of the pitcher with flowers gathered from seven fields; then each of the girls throws some object into it (bracelet, ring, button, bead from a rosary, etc.), wishing at the same time some good wish for her father, brother, or sweetheart. They have to shut their eyes while throwing the object into the pitcher and meditate deeply on their wish. On the Wednesday or Thursday night they hide the pitcher in the corner of a garden in the open air, to expose it to the influence of the stars, and they watch that it is not taken by the boys, who prowls about there all night, and try to discover it and carry it off. If the young men succeed in taking it, they give it back to the girls only in exchange for a large quantity of eggs and olive oil, which they have to offer. If, on the other hand, the young men do not succeed in getting possession of the pitcher, the girls sing songs in which they are made fun of (A. Tchobanian, *Chants populaires arméniens*, pp. 57-59; M. Abeghian, *Armenischer Volks Glaube*, Leipzig, 1899, pp. 82-83).

Marriage, baptism, and burial are family festivals which are the occasion of special ceremonies and customs in Armenia.

(a) *Marriage*.—Among the Armenians, children are betrothed from their earliest youth, sometimes when only three years old, sometimes as soon as born. When the mothers on both sides have agreed to marry their son and daughter, they propose the union to their husbands, who always sanction the choice of the wives. The mother of the boy then goes to the friends of the girl, with two old women and a priest, and presents to the infant maiden a ring from the future bridegroom. The boy is then brought, and the priest reads a portion of the Scripture, and blesses the parties. The parents of the girl make the priest a present, in accordance with their means, refreshments are partaken of by the company, and this constitutes the ceremonies of the betrothals. Should the betrothals take place during the infancy of the contracting parties, and even should twenty years elapse before the boy can claim his bride, he must every year, from the day he gives the ring, send his mistress at Easter a new dress, etc. (Jones, *Finger-ring Lore, historical, legendary, anecdotal*, Lond. 1877, p. 312 f.).

It frequently happens that the bridegroom-elect does not see his betrothed during the engagement. On the marriage day a priest and a sub-deacon go to the house of the bride. The bridegroom arrives there with great pomp, and receives for that day the title of *king*, while the bride is called *queen*. The latter is then veiled, the priest says some prayers and blesses the young husband and wife, and then they set out for the church, where the nuptial blessing is pronounced and Mass is celebrated. The priest places on the head of each a crown, which they retain from three days to a week. The company sing wedding hymns on the way to and from the church. After a few days the priest goes and receives back the crowns, and then the young people's married life begins. Marriage cannot be celebrated during fasts or the dominical festivals, of which there are about 260 in the year.

(b) *Baptism*.—A short time after the birth of a child, the parents and the god-father carry him to church. They stop at the entrance, and the priest recites some prayers, after which they go into the church, making as many genuflexions as the number of days of the child's life, and the god-father makes confession. Then the infant's clothes are taken off,

and he is immersed three times, his head turned towards the west, his feet towards the east, and his face towards the sky. After the baptismal water the priest anoints the child's head several times with holy oil, and clothes him in a linen robe. The child is then made to adore the Cross, and is taken home in state.

(c) *Burial*.—The day before that on which the body is to be carried to the church, the relatives, neighbours, and friends of the deceased meet in the house, each bringing a lamp with three or seven wicks, which they arrange, all lighted, round the coffin, and then they begin to sing in turn some funeral hymns. On All Souls' days (Christmas, Easter, Assumption, Transfiguration, Invention of the Cross) the families invite a popular poet to sing over the grave at the cemetery the praises of the person who has just died (A. Tchobanian, *op. cit.* p. 119). For some days after the funeral ceremony the priest goes to visit the relatives of the deceased; then on the Saturday of this week of mourning the relatives and friends meet and take part in a social repast, the remains of which are distributed among the poor.

LITERATURE.—E. Boré, *Arménie* (Paris, 1888); J. Issaverdenz, *Rites et cérémonies de l'église arménienne* (Venice, 1876); Petit, fasc. vii.; A. Tchobanian, *Chants populaires arméniens* (Paris, 1903), *Les Trouvères arméniens* (Paris, 1906), p. 180; F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, 1905).

4. *Saints of the Armenian Church*.—A glance at the Armenian Menology will suffice to show that the Armenian Church has adopted a large number of the saints of the Greek and Latin Churches. It has, besides, its national saints, for whom it has naturally great veneration. The principal of these are St. Rhipsimé and St. Gaiana, who fled from Rome to avoid the carnal desires of the Emperor, and took refuge in Armenia, where their blood was shed for the cause of the gospel; the saintly translators, Moses of Chorene, David the Philosopher, Eznik of Kolb, Eliséus the Vartabed, St. Mesrop; and St. Sahak, St. Leo, St. Nerses Shnorhali, St. Nerses of Lambron, St. Gregory the Illuminator, and St. Nerses i. the Great. St. Vardan is the national saint and patriot *par excellence*. When Armenia was struggling in the 5th cent. against Persia and the introduction of Mazdaism, Vardan Mamikonian became the moving spirit in a general insurrection and in the struggle of Armenian Christianity against the Zoroastrian religion. He perished at the battle of Avarair; but the agitation for independence started by him continued for many years. St. Sarkis (Sargis or Sergius) is the saint invoked by prisoners, captives, those with difficulties to face, and especially by young girls in order to obtain a handsome sweetheart. If it snows at the festival of St. Jacob or St. James, it is said that the beard of the saint is falling on the earth. St. Karapet (John the Baptist) is regarded in Armenia as the most influential of the saints. His seat is at Mush, where his relics are found in the church named after him, which is one of the principal places of pilgrimage of the Armenians. Women are forbidden to enter the enclosure within which is the tomb of the saint, because it was women, Herodias and Salome, who caused John the Baptist to be beheaded. Young girls give a needle to friends going to kiss the tomb, begging them to rub it against the tombstone, so that they may be able with this sanctified needle to produce marvellous embroidery. Young women cannot go and kiss the tomb unless they make a vow never to marry. Those who have made this vow are allowed to sing with the choir during Mass (A. Tchobanian, *Chants populaires arméniens*, p. 149, n. 1). According to John Mamikonian, a very pious Armenian princess who was determined to enter the sanctuary was almost immediately smitten by Heaven as a pun-

ishment for her presumption (V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anc. et mod. de l'Arménie*, i. 348, 362 f.). St. Karapet is the patron of the bards (*trouvères*), who go on pilgrimage to ask him to heighten their poetic imagination.

LITERATURE.—H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies* (London, 1901); A. Tchobanian, *Les Trouvères arméniens* (Paris, 1906); 'Zenob de Klag' and 'Jean Mamikonian' in V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anc. et mod. de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1867), t. i.

5. Sects.—Armenian Christianity, in the course of the centuries, has had to struggle against the assaults of different sects and heresies in order to preserve its homogeneity. Gnosticism penetrated into Armenia in the 2nd cent.; Marcionism also crept into the Armenian Church and was refuted by Eznik (*Des Wardapet Eznik von Kolb, wider die Sekten*, tr. by Joh. Michael Schmid, Vienna, 1900, p. 172). About the same time are found traces of the Borboriani and the Messalians, of which sects the Paulicians seem to be a continuation through the Middle Ages. Mention is made also of the existence of Adoptionist churches as early as the 3rd century. The most important sect of the Middle Ages was that of the Paulicians, famous for their struggle against the worship of images. It has been established by Conybeare that they were Adoptionists. They believed that Jesus was born a man, and that He became Christ at the moment of His baptism; but they did not regard Him as equal to God the Father. The Paulicians practised adult baptism. The Thondracians, a sect founded about A.D. 820 by Smbat, rejected infant baptism, the worship of the saints, of the Virgin and of images, purgatory and the hierarchy. There still exist in the Caucasus some adherents of this sect. The Arevordians ('Sons of the Sun') are met with in the 12th cent.; their doctrine recalls the old ideas of Armenian paganism.

LITERATURE.—*Norsis Clajensis opera omnia*, ed. J. Capelletti (Venice, 1839); *Domini Joannis Orentiensis philosophi Armeniorum catholici opera*, ed. J. B. Aucher (Venice, 1834); Karapet Ter-Mikrttschian, *Die Paulikianer im byzantinischen Kaiserreiche und verwandte ketzerische Erscheinungen in Armenien* (Leipzig, 1893); 'Die Thondrakier in unsern Tagen' in *Zeitschr. für Kirchengeschichte* (1898); F. C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth, a Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia* (Oxford, 1898); Peitl, fasc. vii. col. 1900; S. Weber, *Die katholische Kirche in Armenien* (Freiburg, 1903).

6. Superstitions and Peculiarities.—The Armenians, although Christians, have, like other Christian peoples, popular beliefs and superstitions which have passed down through the ages. The peasant women believe that there exist three *spirits of childbirth*—the spirits of the evenings of Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The first two are virgins and sisters, and the third is their young brother. If the wives have not spent the evenings of Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday with their husbands, these spirits aid them in childbirth. The Sunday spirit remains near the door of the birth-chamber and fulfils all his sisters' orders; he carries water and eggs, makes the fire, etc. The two sisters take the child, bathe it and prepare the omelet for the mother; and sometimes they present a gift to the newly-born child. But these spirits are also vindictive; and when a woman does not respect them, they avenge themselves by tormenting her, and sometimes by killing the baby (*Revue des traditions populaires*, x. [1895] 2). Each child has from its birth a guardian angel who protects him against evil spirits. This angel's duty is to cut the child's nails and amuse him with the golden apple which he holds in his hand. When the child is old enough, the guardian angel goes back to heaven. The child smiles to him and stretches out his little arms (*ib.* x. 4). The Armenian peasants believe also that *spirits of disease* exist. They are small in stature and wear triangular hats; and they hold in their hands a

white, a red, and a black branch. If they strike any one with the white branch, he will fall ill, but will soon recover; if it is with the red, he will have to stay in bed for a long time; but if it is with the black, then it is all over with him, and nothing will cure him. The spirits have books in which are written the names of the men who must die or fall ill, and the appointed days; and the spirits act according to these books. The people believe also that there is a spirit called the 'Writer' (*Grol*), who writes men's names and the date of their death in a book called the 'book of the non-existent.'

The *devs* are tyrants possessing seven heads. They can throw the largest rocks a great distance. Their wrestling is like the shock of mountains, which causes lava to pour forth. The female *dev* is about the size of a hill; she throws back her left breast over her right shoulder, and her right breast over her left shoulder. The *devs* prefer to dwell in very thick forests or deep caverns. They are very rich in gold and silver, and possess horses of fire which enable them to cover great distances in the twinkling of an eye. *Devs* covet the company of young women of the human race, to whom they grant everything they ask. The young men are continually at war with the *devs* in order to get back the women, who show the men how to carry out ruses by which they may become the masters of the *devs*, who are ignorant, cowardly, boastful, and narrow-minded (*RTP* x. 193-196; Grikor Chalatianz, *Märchen und Sagen*, Leipzig, 1887, pp. xiv-xx). The witches are old women who have a tail which is not visible during infancy, but which develops with age. They can become invisible when they wish, enter anywhere, and cross the world in a few minutes. They mount on earthen jars, take in their hands a serpent which serves as a whip, and, flying to the seventh heaven, pass over all the universe. They act chiefly in love intrigues. Their ordinary business is to enchant the heart of a young man or woman, carry off a young girl in spite of her parents, and kill the irreconcilable rival or make him fall asleep (*RTP* x. 196). There are also good sorcerers, who are quite disposed, with the aid of supernatural powers, to render service to human beings (G. Chalatianz, *Märchen und Sagen*, p. xxxi ff.; F. Macler, *Contes arméniens*, Paris, 1905). The Armenians believe also in the existence of dragons, and possess numerous tales and legends which refer to these supernatural beings. The Armenians, especially those of Eastern Armenia, make great use of *rolls of prayers* containing magical or talismanic formulas, intended to protect them against the evil eye, slander, the anger of enemies, against sorcerers and enchanters, false love, and the bite of serpents, to conciliate lords, kings, generals, and the great, and to exorcize demons and other impure beings. These rolls of prayers are called *kiprianos*, or rather *girpahan*, because they include prayers attributed to St. Cyprian. They are generally ornamented with vignettes, which belong to somewhat rudimentary art, but are very much used by the people (see 'Amulette' and 'Cyprianus-Buch' in P. Jacobus Dashian, *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitharistenbibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna, 1895; Macler, Nos. 97-102).

LITERATURE.—M. Abeghian, *Armenischer Volksglaube* (Leipzig, 1899); G. Chalatianz, *Märchen und Sagen* (Leipzig, 1887); H. von Wilslocki, *Märchen und Sagen der Bukowinaer und Siebenbürger Armenier* (Hamburg, 1892); A. G. Seklemian, *The Golden Maiden, and other Folk-Tales and Fairy Stories told in Armenia* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1898).

IV. ARMENIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OR ARMENIAN CATHOLICS.—There have been in almost all times Armenians who recognized more or less the supremacy of Rome. But it was recognised

only in a sporadic and casual way until the time of the Crusades, when the Armenians of the kingdom of Cilicia, or Lesser Armenia, were in constant contact with the Crusaders, and consequently with the Roman Curia. Later, in the 14th cent., Dominican missionaries founded influential communities of disciples in Armenia. These were the class of native missionaries known as 'Uniters' (*unitores*), and had as their first superior John of Kerni (or of Khrna). He had a translation made of the works of Bartholomew of Bologna, who was sent to Armenia by Pope John XXII. in 1318 (Macler, No. 149). Subsequently, especially in the 17th cent., other orders established missions among the Armenians, particularly among the Armenians of Persia: the Augustinians at Isfahān, the Jesuits at Isfahān, Julfa, Erivan, etc. The French Lazarists settled at Tauris and at Isfahān. Soon all the communities extended their ramifications into all the principal Armenian centres of the East—Isfahān, Ormuz, Shiraz, Banderabbas, Hamadan, Shamakia, Erzerum, Trebizond, etc.

Until the middle of the 18th cent., Catholic Armenians did not form an autonomous community; now they have a hierarchy of their own, a recognized religious autonomy, and a patriarch who resides at Constantinople. These results have sprung from the dissensions which occurred between 1737 and 1740 in connexion with the catholicate of Sis in Cilicia. The Catholicos of Sis was deposed, and he retired to Lebanon, where he founded the convent of Bzommar and a new religious order. This new state of things caused intestine quarrels between the Catholic and the Gregorian Armenians. We may note especially the quarrel of the Hassunists and the publication of the Bull *Reversurus*.

LITERATURE.—Galano, *Conciliatio Ecclesie armenae cum romana* (Rome, 1690); E. Scrotoppi, *L'Empire ottoman au point de vue politique vers le milieu de la seconde moitié du xix^e siècle* (Florence, 1876); A. Balg, *Historia doctrinae catholicae inter Armenos* (Vienna, 1878); A. Boré, *L'Arménie* (Paris, 1838); L. Alishan, *Sisacan, contrée de l'Arménie* (Venice, 1893), an art. devoted to the 'United Brethren' in the cantons of Erinjak; de Damas, *Coup d'œil sur l'Arménie* (Paris, 1888); J. B. Piolet, *Les Missions catholiques au xix^e siècle* (Paris, 1900); H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies* (London, 1901); Petit, fasc. vii.; S. Weber, *Die katholische Kirche in Armenien* (Freiburg, 1903). For the disputes which have arisen over the subject of Avedik and Aghtamar see *Bibliographie analytique des ouvrages de M. Marie-Félicité Brosset* (St. Petersburg, 1887); Dashian, *Catal. der arm. Handschr. in der Mechitharistenbibl. zu Wien* (Vienna, 1896); F. Macler, *Catal. des manuscrits armén. et géorg. de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1908).

V. PROTESTANT ARMENIANS.—The work of the Protestant missions among the Armenians dates from the beginning of the 19th century. It was specially prosperous from the day on which the Sublime Porte granted independence to the Protestant community. The Protestant missions in Armenia belong, on the one hand, to the Missionary Societies of England and America, and, on the other, to those of Basel. They have stations in the most important centres of Turkey in Asia, and some in Persia (Tauris, Teherān, Isfahān), and in Russia (Shusha, Tiflis). There are nearly 200 pupils in the Robert College at Constantinople; the college at Scutari is reserved for girls.

LITERATURE.—E. Scrotoppi, *L'Empire ottoman au point de vue politique vers le milieu de la seconde moitié du xix^e siècle* (Florence, 1876), pp. 78-81; H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies* (London, 1901); Petit, fasc. vii. col. 1920.

VI. MUSALMĀN ARMENIANS.—The attachment of the Armenians to Christianity is well known, and when they are abroad their religion stands to them in the place of nationality. In spite of this love of their religion, some Armenians, persecuted by the Musalmāns, have adopted Muhammadanism. Thus, two or three centuries ago, the Armenians of Hamsben, to the east of Trebizond, after some bloody massacres, accepted in thousands the law

of Islām. They are therefore Turks, but they speak a dialect which betrays their Armenian origin. The Kurds, it is said, are ancient Armenians who have passed under the law of Islām.

About 1761, a certain Chalabi, who was very fanatical, associated himself with the Persian Musalmāns, and conceived the plan of massacring the Armenians if they would not be converted to Muhammadanism. He tortured them first, cutting off their ears so that they might not hear the singing in church, cutting out their tongues so that they might not speak their mother language, and putting out their eyes to strike fear into the other Christians. Chalabi inflicted these tortures on the poor, and granted honours and titles to the rich to impose silence on them. By this means thousands of Armenian families became Musalmāns, especially in the province of Oudi. In this province above all, the Muhammadans destroyed the churches and Christian sanctuaries, so that the Christians might the more quickly forget their original religion. In the province of Oudi many names recall their Armenian origin; at Gis is found a much venerated sanctuary of St. Elisæus. The Musalmāns as well as the Christians make pilgrimages to it, light candles, and address very fervent prayers to the saint; and in several villages in the neighbourhood of this sanctuary the Musalmān Armenians swear by St. Elisæus. They have preserved some old Christian customs. For example, when a mother is putting her child to sleep, she makes the sign of the cross over it, and murmurs the name of Jesus. When the paste is prepared, a young Armeno-Musalmān wife makes a cross on it with her fore-arm before putting it into the oven. The Armeno-Musalmān villagers of the province of Oudi are very bigoted and very suspicious; they distrust all foreigners, and never speak of matters of religion.

In Lasistan, also, several Armenian villages have become converted to Islam, from fear of tortures and massacres. There are found among them the same traces of Christianity as among their brothers of Oudi and elsewhere.

LITERATURE.—*Aghouanits erkir tev dratsikh* (Tiflis, 1892); *Loye*, *Calendar for 1905* (Tiflis, 1904), pp. 191-196 (both in Armenian).

VII. ARMENIAN COLONIES.—There are Armenian colonies spread over all parts of the world; for example, in Europe: Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Russia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Transylvania, Roumania, Lower Danube, Macedonia, Greece, Dalmatia, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, etc.; in Asia: Persia, Afghanistan, India, Japan, Palestine, China, etc.; in Africa: Egypt, Ethiopia; in America: United States; the English and Dutch Indies, Batavia, etc. These colonists generally lose their nationality, and adopt that of the country in which they are living; but they remain faithful to their religion, which is now the bond of the Armenian nation, since they no longer have a political autonomy.

LITERATURE.—L. Alishan, *Sisacan* (Venice, 1893).

FRÉDÉRIC MACLER.

ARMINIANISM.—1. OCCUPATION OF ARMINIANISM.—Arminianism was a revolt against certain aspects of Calvinism, of far-reaching importance in the history of the Reformed Theology. It took place in the dawn of the 17th century. Against the Catholic absolutism of the external Church, Calvinism had set the absolutism of the eternal decrees. The situation was rigid with a new dogmatism. A recoil was inevitable. Many symptoms of dissent were manifest before Arminianism arose as a definite reaction. After Calvin's death, the more rigorous Calvinistic divines, including Beza, asserted that the Divine decree to salvation, being antecedent to the Fall, required for its